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Richard and Anne Baldwin,
Whig Patriot Publishers

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FROM his retreat at Little Chelsea, the diarist Narcissus Luttrell could view with some foreboding the domestic havoc that threatened the tranquillity of Restoration England. Considering the variety of evils challenging the realm, Master Luttrell meditated with some apprehension upon the increased circulation of books disrespectful, bold and seditious in character:

The press abounds with all sorts of pamphlets and libells; one side running down the papists and upholding the dissenters, the other side crying down both . . . public intelligences or pamphlets of news abounding every day spawning two, sometimes three, filling the town and country with notorious falsehoods.

The dissolution of the Parliament of 1681 brought Master Luttrell little comfort, since the press had strongly championed partisan causes.

* I wish to express my thanks to Mr. R. T. Rivington, Clerk of the Stationers' Company, London, for his permission to examine the manuscript records at Stationers' Hall, and to Mrs. J. M. Foster, Reference Librarian, Union Theological Seminary Library, who placed at my disposal the books of the McAlpin Collection. I also wish to thank Mr. Lewis Stark, Chief, Reserve Division, New York Public Library, and Miss Fannie Ratchford, Curator, Wrenn Library, University of Texas, for their kind coöperation.

There has been a violent paper scuffle; some on the one side branding the two late parliaments and standing very high for the Church, the other side defending the parliament and cryeing [*sic*] up (as they call it) the true protestant religion and opposing a popish successor, whence the latter party have been called by the former whigs, fanatticks, covananteers, bromigham protestants.¹

Perhaps not known personally to Master Luttrell but indirectly through their "seditious and treasonable books" were the Whig publishers and booksellers Richard Baldwin and his wife Anne of the Black Bull in the Old Bailey.

From 1681 to 1698 Richard Baldwin was to champion through his press the cause of English political freedom. His support of the "fanattick" party was continued by his wife until her retirement or death in 1713, when England was shortly to accept the Hanoverian kings and the stately hexameters of Mr. Pope. The Baldwins represent the cause of the great English Third Estate, scoring Stuart tyranny, Bourbon imperialism and Vatican intrigue. Richard Baldwin defied the majesty of the law to publish and to circulate anti-Stuart, anti-French and anti-Papal tracts and news-sheets. He welcomed with enthusiasm the resolute purpose of William of Orange. His newspapers and periodicals, occasionally muzzled by the opposition, doggedly upheld the cause of liberalism in a period of political uncertainty and personal danger. His unwavering support of republican principles was continued by his wife, who successfully combined the rôles of publisher and bookseller of Whig tracts and proprietor of political, popular and literary weeklies.

Richard Baldwin, son of Thomas, was born in the sleepy hamlet of Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, *circa* 1653.² Fifteen years later, Richard travelled the thirty-odd miles to London, where he was bound as an apprentice to George Eversden, who had set

¹ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford, 1857), I, 76, 124.

² *Apprentices Register Book, 1666 to 1727* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London). Baldwin was apprenticed to George Eversden in 1668. The average age of an apprentice was fifteen, which would establish the date of his birth *circa* 1653.

up shop at the Adam and Eve, St. John's Lane, specializing in the publication and sale of theological works.³ Having served Eversden the customary term of seven years, Baldwin was admitted to the freedom of the Stationers' Company on August 25, 1675.⁴ Although no Baldwin imprint appears to have been recorded prior to 1681, he was engaged in the sale of books as early as 1677 and had in his employ two apprentices: Joseph Rydale, son of a fellow countryman, and John Bowen of Loughlin, County Carmarthen.⁵ The year 1681, however, marks the first appearance of a Baldwin imprint: *The Certain Way To Save England . . . By a Prudent Choice of Members to serve in the Next Ensuing Parliament*. The work emerged from his establishment at Ball Court in the Old Bailey.⁶ At the same time Baldwin was engaged in bookbinding and counted among his customers the temperamental Mr. John Dunton, who characterized his colleague as one

whose inclinations were to oblige all men and only to neglect himself. He was a man of generous temper. His purse and his heart were open to all men whom he thought honest and his conversation was very diverting.⁷

The "honesty" to which Dunton refers is clearly evinced in

³ *Ibid.*: "25th Aug 1668. Richard Baldwin sonne of Thomas Baldwyn late of Wickham in the county of Bucks hath putt himself an apprentice to George Eversden for seven years from this day." For Eversden, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), 71.

⁴ *Register of Freemen* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London): "25th August 1675, Richard Baldwin bound to George Eversden sworn and admitted into Freedom of this Company."

⁵ *Apprentices Register Book*: "14 July 1676. Joseph Rydale sonne of Robert Rydale of Great Hampden in County of Bucks was bound to Richard Baldwin for 7 years. 2 August 1680. John Bowen son of Thomas Bowen of the parish of Loughlin in the County Charmorthen bound to Richard Baldwin for 8 years." Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922), 43, cites a J. Bowen active in London circa 1681.

⁶ Donald G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland . . . 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-1951), C1764; Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues 1668-1709* (London, 1903), I, 429.

⁷ John Dunton, *The Life and Errors* (London, 1818), I, 259.

the character of Baldwin's publications. From 1681 through 1688, the year of the Glorious Revolution and the downfall of James II, Baldwin published an approximate forty-four books of which twenty-seven are of a political content: anti-Stuart, anti-French and anti-Tory. The remaining seventeen represent controversial issues of the Church of England and a few literary effusions.⁸ When, in 1689, William III was safely ensconced on the English throne and James Stuart was unhappily exiled at St. Germain, Baldwin published during the course of that one year some forty-two books. By 1689 English republicanism had been vindicated. By 1689 Richard Baldwin had established his reputation and had successfully outwitted Stuart prosecution. The Glorious Revolution had been achieved partly by the spirit of the people and partly by their mouthpiece, the press. In the ranks of the Fourth Estate, Richard Baldwin was a fearless and indomitable leader. With the accession of William III, of whom he was "a true lover," Baldwin continued to support his government, always "voted on the right side" and never ceased to blacken the former James II and to besmirch the effulgent rays of the aging Sun King at Versailles.⁹ In his dedication to the Whig cause, Baldwin had, prior to its ultimate triumph, encountered Stuart restraint of the press and the more personal restraints of its authority.

Although Baldwin was frequently the victim of Stuart prosecution, he pursued with unrelenting vigor the government's political and religious supporters. Indignantly he pounced upon the Papists who

hire certain Hawkers and other indigent persons, to disperse about this city and suburbs, several scandalous Libels and Pamphlets, tending to create in People a disbelief of the [Popish] Plot, and to shift it from their

⁸ The total number of books printed by Baldwin can be only an approximate estimate based principally upon such bibliographies as Wing, *op. cit.*; Arber, *op. cit.*; *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers. From 1640-1708 A.D.* (London, 1913) (henceforth designated as *Transcript*).

⁹ Dunton, *op. cit.*, I, 259.

Party to the Presbyterians. They hire Ballad-Singers to sing about the Streets, and to disperse certain Songs and Ballads of the same tendency. The said Papists do send these villainous Papers into several parts of the kingdom by Posts, Carriers and Private Conveyances.¹⁰

As early as October 1681, Baldwin, in the company of the Protestant publisher, Richard Janeway, Thomas Vile, owner of the *London Mercury*, and several colleagues, had been summoned before the Council for "publishing severall scandalous and seditious pamphlets against the government." Baldwin had been specifically accused of "Printing and publishing a Book Intituled The Protestant Plot." Pleading ignorance of the political nature of the work, he declared that the manuscript had been sent to him in a letter

from an unknown Hand, and that if there were anything in it of dangerous Consequence, it was more than he knew, having never read the said Book.

Assuring his Majesty's Court that he had published it for no other reason "than to get money in the way of his trade," he was, nevertheless, obliged to give bail and to appear later at the Term Court.¹¹

This early encounter with the royal magistrates appears to have whetted Baldwin's appetite to antagonize these selfsame authorities further and to arouse the indignation of London royalists. In December 1681, Baldwin either printed or bound for John Kidgell of the Atlas in Cornhill a new edition of John Sadler's *Rights of the Kingdom or Customs of our Ancestors*.¹² The work,

¹⁰ *Mercurius Anglicus*, no. 1. Munday [sic] October 10, 1681.

¹¹ *Mercurius Anglicus*, no. 3. Thursday October 13 to Munday [sic] October 17, 1681. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, I, 135, 138. For Janeway see Plomer, *Dictionary*, 1668-1725, 170. Vile is not mentioned by Plomer. The Court may have been referring to Baldwin's publication: *The Popish damnable Plot against our Religion and Liberties* (London, 1681). See Wing P2946; Arber, I, 1681.

¹² The first edition of this work was printed in 1649. Wing, *op. cit.*, S279, states that the second edition was printed by J. Kidgell in 1682. According to an advertisement in *The Protestant Courant*, no. 4, May 1-May 6, 1682, the work was "Sold by John Kidgell, at the Atlas in Cornhill." It is quite possible that either Baldwin

written by an ardent Cromwellian, was to produce a round of fisticuffs between Baldwin's apprentices Rydale and Bowen, a neighborhood surgeon, and a local draper. Following custom, Baldwin's boys had on Saturday, December 31, posted the titles of books which were to be bound for their employer during the ensuing week. Among those listed was Sadler's *Rights of the Kingdom*. According to a vivid report in *The Impartial Protestant Mercury* published by Janeway, a surgeon named Tallman, incensed at Baldwin's publication of Sadler's work, tore the posted title down and flung it at Rydale and Bowen:

struck one of them; who defending himself, a scuffle began. Whereupon the surgeon withdrew into Ave-Mary-Lane, where meeting with Mr. Masters a draper's partner and another coming at that time of night out of Sam's Coffee-House, reinforced would seize the lads . . . alledging that there was treason in the said Title.

Upon learning that Baldwin was the boys' master, the irate draper

fell a calling him scurrilous names (for it must be noted that Mr. Baldwin publisht the First and Second Part of the Protestant Plot) and the Watchman alledging That if there were any hurt in the Book, the master and not the lads must answer for it; Mr. Masters . . . snatcht the watchman's staff and struck the lads with it, and so carried the young men to a constable . . . by whom they were secured to Bridewel.

Rydale and Bowen were eventually obliged to give bail and Baldwin's book was brought before the Secretary of State.¹³

In May 1682 Baldwin found himself not the mere protagonist of local indignation but a defendant charged with municipal libel. On May 4, 1682, the Grand Jury of Bristol declared that its political and religious convictions had been grossly misrepresented by Richard Baldwin in his *Protestant Courant*. Bristol, long a royal-

printed the book for Kidgell or the latter had engaged him to bind up the sheets. At any rate the printed sheets were ready for binding as early as December 1681, but the completed work does not appear to have been on sale until the spring of 1682.

¹³ *The Impartial Protestant Mercury*, no. 75. Friday, January 6, to Tuesday, January 10, 1681/82.

ist stronghold, had been denounced by Baldwin as a Papist lair. This accusation was vehemently denied by the Bristol authorities.

We deem all those Libels to be a Contrivance of factitious and disaffected persons to his Majesty and our present Church and State and who endeavour by all means to calumniate divers of the magistrates of this city. We humbly recommend . . . that the authors and dispersers of these and all such like libels be severely proceeded against and punished . . . and whereas Baldwin's libel hath the impudence to charge the execution of the Laws here with Partiality towards Papists . . . we present and affirm that there are . . . to the best of our Knowledge not above 2 families of Papists within the city and county.

As a rebuttal to Baldwin's accusation it was ordered that the several libels be, at the rising of the Court, publicly burnt by the Beadle or Common Execution.¹⁴

A few weeks later Baldwin received additional publicity from his participation in the cause of the much-discussed Earl of Shaftesbury. In December 1681, Anthony Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, had been tried for treason and released from bail. In connection with his trial and his anomalous political position, Baldwin had published two tracts: *The Proceedings of the Right Honorable the Earl of Shaftesbury* and *A Modest Account of the Present Posture of Affairs in Particular Reference to the Earl of Shaftesbury's Case*.¹⁵ In May 1682, Shaftesbury again found himself in serious legal entanglement and faced courts packed with Tory judges and picked juries. Quick to observe the Earl's predicament, Baldwin published in his *Protestant Courant* a scathing indictment of the court's prejudice, attacking the judges and several peers of the realm. He was promptly brought to court and

¹⁴ *The London Gazette*, no. 1717, Thursday May 1 to Monday May 4, 1682. See *The Protestant Courant*, no. 4, May 1 to May 6, 1682. With reference to the *Domestick Intelligence* of Nathaniel Thompson, Baldwin writes: "In the same Libel they give us a presentment to the Grand Jury of Bristol to the Mayor and Aldermen at their Easter Sessions, wherein they are pleased to term our Courant, Numb. 1 an infamous, scandalous and seditious Libel, adding that we reflect upon their Bishop, Sheriff, Town Clerk and Constable; and we have the impudence to charge their Execution of the Laws towards the Papists with Impartiality."

¹⁵ Wing, *op. cit.*, P3553A, M2349.

arraigned before the reactionary Justice George Jeffries, "who severely checked him . . . made a sharp complaint and moved that all the news and pamphlet publishers be severely punished." Jeffries demanded that Baldwin be committed, but the defendant "pleaded that he had good bail ready and prayed they might be accepted." There is no evidence that the undaunted publisher was imprisoned and in all likelihood his "good bail" was accepted effecting his eventual release.¹⁶

Baldwin was soon again to confront the opposition, now personified by the unpopular licenser of the press, Sir Roger L'Estrange, an ardent loyalist, who viewed with suspicion the republican sentiments of members of the Stationers' Guild. Aware of Baldwin's support of anti-Stuart publications, L'Estrange wrote to the diplomat, Sir Leoline Jenkins, in January 1683:

Had my importunities to have had the sifting of Baldwyn prevailed, he should have either delivered up some persons more considerable than himself or not have been in a condition at this day to do more mischief. Today is published by him a libel entitled a Defence of the Charter and Municipal Rights of the City of London written by Hunt of venomous malice against the King and the Duke, so far as I can judge by dipping into it.¹⁷

Having abrogated the privileges granted by the Charter of London, Charles II had antagonized the London populace and aroused considerable adverse criticism. Among the chief assailants of Stuart policy was Thomas Hunt, known as "Postscript Hunt," whose *Defence of the Charter and Municipal Rights of the City of London* was issued by Baldwin in 1683.¹⁸ The publication of this work incensed the royalist party, and copies of the book were seized at Baldwin's shop. The case remained unsettled until

¹⁶ *The London Mercury*, no. 13, Monday May 15 to Thursday May 18, 1682. Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. July 1-Sept. 30, 1683*, ed. F. H. B. Daniell (London, 1934), 209.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1-June 30, 1683 (London, 1933), 17.

¹⁸ Wing, *op. cit.*, H3750 cites edition as [1683?], although according to L'Estrange's letter, it would appear that the work had been published earlier.

July 1683, when the Attorney General for the Crown rendered his verdict that "the books in Baldwin's hands may be seized by warrant from any judge of the king's bench and detained till the matter be determined." Although the work had been taken into custody six months earlier, it was reported on August 1, 1683, by Robert Stevens, the official informer for the press, known odiously to his fellow stationers as "Robin Hog," that copies of Hunt's book were still in the publisher's possession. Immediately a warrant was given Stevens to apprehend

all copies thereof that he shall find in the warehouse, shop or keeping of the said Baldwyn or of any other against whom oath is or shall be made as having copies thereof to vend or dispose.¹⁹

Baldwin's frank criticism of the Stuart régime had not been endorsed by the officers of the Stationers' Company. His repeated slanders, published in *The Protestant Courant*, brought action from his guild, and in the spring of 1682 his house was searched and he was "perfidiously taken in Execution in a Publick Coffee-House." He was subsequently compelled to pay a fine of £10 6s. for his derogatory remarks, and was informed that the writ for his seizure had been issued at the request of the Master of the Company. Thomas Vere of the Cock in St. John Street, Master of the Stationers' Company from August 1681 to June 1682, was tauntingly ridiculed by Baldwin as "one of so high Birth that he is Ignorant of the Original of his Family; but to be sure of something he claims Adam for his first Ancestor."²⁰

With the accession of William III, Baldwin, as a loyal supporter, was prepared to serve the government through the medium of his press. Yet the candor of his publications and his own impulsive behavior were to bring him into occasional conflict with the government he so heartily championed. In 1690, Bald-

¹⁹ *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. July 1-Sept. 30, 1683*, 239 f. For Stevens, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1668-1725), 281.

²⁰ *The Protestant Courant*, no. 3, April 27 to May 1, 1682. For Vere, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1641-1667), 186; Arber, *op. cit.*, III, 101.

win was sentenced to Newgate for "misprision of treason" by Lord Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham, for having "publish'd a sticht book entituled a Modest Enquiry which reflects upon the dissenting bishops and other bold passages." Copies of the pamphlet were seized by "Robin Hog" Stevens, but the indefatigable Baldwin, again ready with bail, was released from sentence.²¹

The fall of 1691 found Baldwin a suppliant before the House of Commons. As publisher of the *Mercurius Reformatus*, a violently anti-French newspaper, Baldwin had questioned Parliament's prosecution of war with the French.²² In turn, the publisher and his editor, James Welwood, former physician of William III, were summoned before the House of Commons and petitioned to retract their charges:

Whereby [Baldwin] made his humble acknowledgment of his Fault . . . and begged their pardon for the same, and being asked who was the author of the *Observator* he printed said One Doctor Wellwood. Upon his knees [he] received a reprimand from Mr. Speaker . . . and [was] discharged out of custody paying his fees.²³

Despite these slurs upon the bodies ecclesiastical and temporal, Richard Baldwin proceeded undaunted with his publication of books, pamphlets, news-sheets and periodicals reflecting his political ideology.

From 1689 through 1698 Baldwin published an approximate 240 books of which one hundred and fifty represent political lit-

²¹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, II, 78, 80; *A Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the Present Disasters in England* (London, 1690), Wing, *op. cit.*, M2367.

²² *Mercurius Reformatus*: or, *The New Observator*, Vol. 4, no. 30, Saturday, October 24, 1691. The House of Commons may have objected to Welwood's remarks: "Never was there a Session of Parliament begun on a more critical Juncture; and never was there a more promising prospect of bringing France to Reason, and raising England to its wonted glory, than that which accompanies their Sitting down at this time. It depends now absolutely upon them, to enable the King to bring all the late year's efforts for Liberty and Ease . . . to a happy and glorious Conclusion."

²³ *Journals of the House of Commons. From December the 26th, 1688 to Oct. the 26, 1693* (London, 1803), X, 558, 562.

erature, while the remaining ninety relate to theology, belles-lettres and miscellaneous subjects covering science, courtesy, murders, trials and hangings at Tyburn Hill.²⁴

Of particular interest are Baldwin's political publications of which seventy-five were anti-French in content, stimulated by the protracted Anglo-French conflict. The principal butt of these lampoons and libels was the aging monarch at Versailles whose limitless passion for war and territorial aggrandizement had left France bankrupt, her manhood destroyed and her people apathetic and indifferent to the future. The growing fear of a possible French invasion and the English contempt for Louis XIV are manifest in Baldwin's many libellous tracts: *The Great Bastard Louis XIV Protector of the Little One (James Edward Francis Stuart)*; *The Old Pretender (Done out of the French and for which the French King Put Forth a Proclamation, with a Reward of 50,000 Louis d'Or to discover, the Author)*; *King Lewis of France the Hector of Europe*; *The Present French King Drawn to Life*; *The Royal Cuckold*; *The Fate of France* and numerous others designed to arouse English ire and militant spirit.²⁵

Along with a hearty contempt of the Sun King, a large group of the public shared an undisguised antipathy toward James Stuart, a protégé of Jesuit machination and a tolerated guest of the French monarch. During this same period Baldwin issued some thirty tracts outlining James's career, and linking his name with Papist plots and Jesuit cabals. Among these were *An Address to King James in which Popish designs upon the Kingdom are discovered*; *The Anatomy of a Jacobite Tory*, *The Character of a Bigotted Prince*, David Jones's *Secret History of Whitehall*, *The True Spirit of Popery* and others intended to expose the wiles and treachery of James Stuart.²⁶

Baldwin's strong anti-Papist attitude was well known to his

²⁴ This estimated figure is based on Wing, *op. cit.*, Arber, *op. cit.*, and *Transcript*.

²⁵ Wing, *op. cit.*, G1663, K561; Arber, *op. cit.*, 302, 465; Wing, F545.

²⁶ Wing, *op. cit.*, A542, A3053, C1963; Arber, *op. cit.*, III, 5; Wing, T3101.

readers and colleagues. The Jacobite party, aware of the influence of his publications and newspapers, denounced him violently as a

Poor despicable and ridiculous Whig! Thou comst in the Rear of the Scandalous Company, to buoy up the pitiful Sinking Cause. Let me advise thee in kindness to thy Bones and Pate . . . to leave off thy Ribaldry . . . Woe to thy asses-skin Dull Rascal.²⁷

There is every indication that this "dull rascal" although, perhaps, prompted to some degree by economic motives, was none the less an ardent and sincere republican. To him the king could have

no prerogative which is inconsistent with the ancient Rights and Liberties of the Subject, set down in Magna Charta and other ancient Statutes which were only declarative of the Common Law of England.

A believer in the "Rights and Liberties" of the people, he declared:

It has been for the defence and preservation of all these that this wonderful and happy Revolution hath been brought about and their Present Majesties placed upon the Throne.

Baldwin regarded himself as a true Whig and attacked

all who traduce by the nicknames of Whigs and Commonwealths-Men, those that have been in the worst of times the only true assertors of the ancient Monarchy. Let all good Subjects know how to render to Caesar the things that are Caesars and to God the things that are Gods without blindly sacrificing the Religion and liberties of their country to Caesar's Will, as some of late years have done.²⁸

Baldwin's enthusiasm for the establishment of "their Present Majesties . . . upon the Throne" caused the licenser of the press, Edmund Bohun, to forfeit this hard-won sinecure. Bohun had licensed in 1693 Baldwin's publication of Blount's *King William*

²⁷ *The Protestant Courant*, no. 3, April 27 to May 1, 1682.

²⁸ Baldwin's preface to James Tyrrell, *A Brief Enquiry into the ancient Constitution and Government of England* (London, 1695), Wing, T3584.

and Queen Mary Conquerors.²⁹ The licenser of the press had read the book with "incredible satisfaction, finding it well written, close argument, modest and full of reason. I was glad that I had got so good a book, that might, perhaps, have done more good now than it would at first."³⁰ Unfortunately the content of this work proved highly unpopular. The author had argued that William had made his conquest of England by force, a concept highly distasteful to refined English thought. Consequently the House of Commons pronounced the publication a "rascally book." Despite Bohun's defense he was taken into custody and cross-examined, stating that Baldwin and he were ignorant of the identity of the author. Both had agreed it had been a good book, "its whole scope tended so much to the uniting of the nation," and believed that "no displeasure could be suspected." Unfortunately, the House of Commons did not share the opinions of the licenser of the press or the licensee. The book was condemned to be burnt by the hangman and Bohun was relieved of his position.³¹

Although Baldwin had met the displeasure of the home government, he did not relinquish his prosecution of a foreign government. As publisher of the popular news-sheet, *The Postman*, he, along with its editor, was summoned as late as 1697 before James Vernon, Secretary of State, and admonished to curb the virulence of his anti-Bourbon comments. The Secretary of State referred to a recent article in *The Postman* which had libelled the character of the Duke of Burgundy and the French Court.

It was thought fit to put a stop to using the King of France so disrespectfully. The author and the printer of *The Postman* were taken into

²⁹ Charles Blount, *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors or a Discourse Endeavouring to prove that their Majesties have on their side Reasons that make Conquest a Good Title* (London, 1693), Wing B3309.

³⁰ *The Diary and Autobiography of Edmund Bohun Esq.*, ed. S. Wilton Rix (Beccles, 1853), 103.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 105. Bohun attributed the loss of his position to L'Estrange, a Jacobite, who had plotted his downfall. He claimed that the entire work had not been read and therefore its purpose not understood.

custody and were ordered to be prosecuted, that they may learn to change their style and not treat friends and enemies alike.³²

Although Baldwin had wished to continue the Anglo-French conflict singlehanded, the English government had determined otherwise and had concluded the Peace of Ryswick with France in 1697.

Nevertheless, Baldwin's tracts had successfully inflamed public indignation and had won popular approval with Richard Strutton's *Relation of the Cruelties and Barbarities of the French upon the English Prisoners of War*, reports of the machinations of James Stuart at St. Germain and glowing accounts of the victories of the invincible English armada. To retain and satisfy this self-same public Baldwin, now Master of the Oxford Arms near Warwick Lane, used various advertising media and sold his books and tracts at popular prices.³³

Not until William III had been safely ensconced on the English throne did Baldwin choose to employ the royalist news-sheet, *The London Gazette*, as an advertising agent. Announcements of current books appeared fairly regularly, listing for the reader: Gee's *Catalogue of all the Books published against Popery since the Reign of the Late King James II*, *A Resolution of certain Queries concerning Submission to the Present Government*, *An Exact Diary of the Late Expedition of His Illustrious Majesty the Prince of Orange now King of England from his Palace at The Hague to his Landing at Torbay and from thence to his Arrival at Whitehall*, *An Answer to the late King James's Last Declaration*, Macky's *View of the Court of St. Germain*, and numerous other works relating to contemporary political problems and foreign issues.³⁴

As part proprietor of the literary periodical, the *Miscellaneous*

³² *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series*, ed. William J. Hardy (London, 1927), 448.

³³ Wing S6018. Baldwin had moved from the Black Bull in the Old Bailey to the Oxford Arms near Warwick Lane in 1690.

³⁴ *The London Gazette*, no. 2435, March 11-14, 1688; no. 2444, April 11-15, 1689; no. 2449, April 29-May 2, 1689; no. 2887, June 5, 1693; no. 3155, February 3, 1695.

Letters, Baldwin frequently listed forthcoming books in its various issues. Here the advertisement was often preceded by a review of the book. *England's Interest or a Discipline for Seamen* by Captain George St. Lo, published by Baldwin in 1694, having been described in some detail, was suggested as profitable reading:

This in substance is the method proposed by Captain St. Loo [*sic*] and as to the probability of it, and the possibility or rather Facility of putting it in execution, I refer you to the Book itself, which in my Opinion is very well worth yours, and any man's reading and observation.³⁵

The 1695 edition of the translation of the Abbé Fourcroy's *A New and Easie Method to Understand Roman Historie* was offered as superior to the original version: "Whoever will compare the French and English editions will agree that this learned translation has considerably improved the original."³⁶

It was, however, in his own publications that Baldwin expended considerable advertising energy, including for his reader's attention lists of old and new books. Such announcements were either of a miscellaneous or specialized nature. In his edition of Keith's *More Divisions amongst the Quakers* he announced the publication and sale of six other works relating to the views of the sect, "all sold by R. Baldwin near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane."³⁷ He encouraged anti-Jacobite sentiment by listing at the end of an anti-French tract four books defaming the Bourbons and Stuarts, stating sarcastically that such works had been published "for the Information of the Jacobites that Endeavour [James's] return again."³⁸

³⁵ *Miscellaneous Letters*, no. 6, November 14, 1694. Wing S340.

³⁶ *Ibid.*; Wing, F1676.

³⁷ Wing K182. At the end of the volume Baldwin announced "Books lately published: *The Trials of Several Quakers before a Court of Quakers; An Account of the great Divisions of the Quakers in Pensilvanie; A Further Account of the Divisions of the Quakers in Pensilvanie; The Principles, Doctrines, Laws . . . of the Quakers; The Judgment given forth by 28 Quakers against G. Keith and his Friends; More Divisions still among the Quakers in Pensilvanie.*"

³⁸ *A Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the Present Disasters in England* (London, 1690), Wing, *op. cit.*, M2367.

Occasionally a Baldwin imprint included its publisher's preface with a personal estimate of the work. He preceded the text of Tyrrell's *A Brief Enquiry into the ancient Constitution and Government of England* with a preamble:

There being many treatises already published upon the subjects handled in this ensuing discourse, you many think it needless to trouble the world with more of this kind, but those who think so, may be of another opinion, when they have considered not only the Design of this Treatise, which is to abridge it into a small Manual what others writ in many volumes . . . whosoever shall think fit to bestow a little money to buy and have time to peruse this small treatise, the publisher hopes he will find the Design to be truly English, that is sincere and honest.³⁹

Although Baldwin's advertising program stressed books of political content, he appreciated the importance of publicity for his general stock. In March 1692, Baldwin, with Dorman Newman of the King's Arms and John Dunton of the Raven planned a subscription book. The stationers proposed to publish William Leybourne's *Pleasure with Profit consisting of Recreations of divers Kinds, viz. Numerical, Geometrical, Mechanical . . . Horometrical, Statical, Automatical*, which was to be printed "for Ingenious Spirits to make further Scrutiny into . . . Sublime Sciences."⁴⁰ The "Ingenious" might seek the nature of the "Proposals" from any one of the backers. The "Proposals" apparently met with success, since the following September the same gentlemen announced that

Mr. William Leybourne's New Mathematical Tractates (Lately proposed by way of Subscription) having met with good Encouragement are now put to several presses, and will be ready to be delivered to the subscribers the next term. In this work will be inserted (above what was first proposed) a new System of Algebra . . . as also several great Curiosities in cryptography, Horometria, etc. which additions will enhance each book to 16s. in quires to those that do not subscribe, and those that do are desired to send in the first payment (viz. 6s.) before the 26th Inst. after which time no subscriptions will be taken.

³⁹ Tyrrell, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ Wing, *op. cit.*, L1931.

By February 1693, Master Leybourne's book had almost completed publication. Subscribers, however, were advised "to send their last Payment (and deliver up their Receipts of the First) only to Richard Baldwin and John Dunton." On March 8, 1693, an early reader of *The London Gazette* was informed that *Pleasure with Profit* was ready for the "Ingenious" and no doubt those less enlightened.⁴¹

Baldwin's political publications, intended largely as propaganda and not as specimens of typographical craftsmanship, were printed on cheap paper. Designed for a wide circulation, they sold reasonably from threepence to a shilling. Leybourne's *Pleasure with Profit* retailed at 16 shillings, and the illustrated edition of La Calprenède's *The Fam'd Romance or the Grand Cyrus*, published jointly with several other London dealers, sold at 28 shillings.⁴²

Although the London public was attracted by the numerous books bearing the imprint of Richard Baldwin, it was equally interested in the news-sheets and periodicals emerging from the Black Bull and the Oxford Arms. By circulating a variety of newspapers and journals, Baldwin hoped not only to win greater

⁴¹ *The London Gazette*, no. 2855, March 20, 1692; no. 2903, September 4, 1693; no. 2951, February 19, 1693; no. 2956, March 8, 1693/94.

⁴² *The Popish damnable Plot against our Religion and Liberties* (London, 1681), 6d., Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 431; *A Pleasant Conference upon the "Observator" and "Heraclitus" Together with a brief Relation of the present Posture of French Affairs* (London, 1682), 6d., Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 475; Philopatris, *A Satyrick Poem against those Mercenary Wretches and Troublers of England's Tranquility, the Authors of "Heraclitus" and "Observator"* (London, 1682), 3d., Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 474; *Modest Account of present Posture of Affairs in England with Reference to Shaftesbury's Case* (London, 1682), 6d., Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 487; *England's Miseries set forth in their True Light; being a brief History of the Difficulties under reigns of James I. . .* (London, 1692), 2s., Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 395; *A Poem presented to his Majesty William III upon his happy Preservation from the Jacobitin Conspiracy* (London, 1696), 6d., *Miscellaneous Letters* (March 1696), no. 24; *The French Intrigues Discovered* (London, 1681), 1s., Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 453; *A Dialogue between the King of France and the late King James* (London, 1695), 6d., *Miscellaneous Letters* (May 1695), no. 15; Leybourne, *Pleasure with Profit* (London, 1693), 16s., *The London Gazette*, no. 2903 (September 4, 1693); [La Calprenède], *The Fam'd Romance or the Grand Cyrus* (London, 1692), 28s., *The London Gazette*, no. 2826 (December 8, 1692).

economic gain, but also to impress upon a wider audience his own political ideology.

Baldwin's earliest known news-sheet was the *Mercurius Anglicus*, which he had taken over from its former proprietor, Robert Harford at the Angel in Cornhill. Although Baldwin published only three issues of the *Mercurius Anglicus*, October 1681, the paper reflects his political temperament and his attitude toward current issues. Consisting of a single folio sheet and printed on both sides, it was designed for publication every Monday and Thursday. The publisher begged the reader's indulgence for any errors and "misreports" which

are the common fate of Discourses relating to Publick Affairs. Care shall be taken in collecting the contents of the said Papers and . . . nothing shall be incerted [*sic*] which . . . be false.

Although the paper carried a few advertisements, it devoted the majority of its space to current local and foreign news and wreaked its journalistic venom upon the intrigues of the Papists and the transgressions of the Bourbons.⁴³

With the discontinuance of the *Mercurius Anglicus*, Baldwin did not resume publication of a news-sheet until the following April 1682, when he launched the *London Mercury* which was printed for him by Thomas Vile, an equally enthusiastic anti-Bourbon colleague. The *London Mercury* followed exactly the style and format of the official state organ, *The London Gazette*, but differed essentially in its political point of view. It was discontinued in October 1682, having appeared semiweekly.⁴⁴

The Protestant Courant was published by Baldwin for a short period during the spring of 1682. It was a vehemently anti-

⁴³ *Mercurius Anglicus*, no. 1. Munday [*sic*] October 10, 1681; no. 2. Munday [*sic*] October 10, 1681 (erroneously dated); no. 3. Thursday October 13 to Munday [*sic*] October 17, 1681. CBEL, II, 704; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, IV, 69. For Harford, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, 1668-1725, 143.

⁴⁴ Stanley Morison, *The English Newspaper* (Cambridge, 1932), 47; CBEL, II, 704; *Tercentenary Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews* [London], 1920, no. 31 (henceforth referred to as *The Times*).

Papist news-sheet, expending much energy upon the detraction of the Tory leaders and the rebuttal of the malicious slander of the loyalist papers, the *Observer* and the *Heraclitus Ridens*. Its views of the chicanery and guile of the opposition were constantly aired. Apologizing for a publication delay, Baldwin announced:

Whereas this paper should (according to our Promise) have come out on Thursday last, These are to give Notice that some of the Popish Crew . . . despairing of totall suppressing it, were resolved to try an experiment on the Printer, which they did and detained him so long in Merry Company, that he wanted time to finish the Paper by the day appointed, so that now we have changed our Printer and our Days, and hereafter these Papers will be published every Wednesday and Saturday.⁴⁵

Baldwin's championship of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 is manifest in his printing and distribution of ephemeral sheets associated with the movement. In March 1689, he published *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates of Scotland*. This paper contained news and advertisements pertinent to the development of the revolution in the North. With the final acceptance of William III by Scotland, Baldwin ceased its publication.⁴⁶ The following September 1690, he sponsored *The Dublin Intelligence*, a sheet for Irish Protestants resident in London, while two years later the news reader could purchase from him *The Scotch Mercury*, which aimed to give "a true account of the daily proceedings and most remarkable Publick Occurrences in Scotland."⁴⁷

The most successful and most enduring of Baldwin's newspapers proved to be *The Postman*, which, despite the vilification of rival sheets and occasional government intervention, outlived its founder. *The Postman* had begun modestly as an *Account of the*

⁴⁵ *The Protestant Courant, Imparting News Foreign and Domestick*, no. 1, 24 April-no. 6, May 13, 1682; CBEL, II, 704; see no. 4, May 1-6, 1682.

⁴⁶ CBEL, II, 705; Nichols, *op. cit.*, IV, 73; C. H. Timperley, *A Dictionary of Printers and Printing* (London, 1839), 577; *The Times*, 32.

⁴⁷ CBEL, II, 733; *Transcript*, 376; CBEL, II, 705; W. J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* (Stirling, 1908), 54; Timperley, *op. cit.*, 575.

Publick Transactions in Christendom published by Richard Baldwin at the Oxford Arms near Warwick Lane on August 11, 1694. Its title was subsequently changed to *An Historical Account of the Publick Transactions in Christendom* and later to the *Holland Pacquet Boat*. For a brief period it amalgamated with the rival sheet, *The Post Boy* of Abel Roper. *The Postman* reëmerged as an independent publication on October 22, 1695, under the astute editorship of the Huguenot exile, Monsieur Jean de Fonvive.⁴⁸

It is of interest to observe that Baldwin, in his obdurate contempt for the House of Bourbon and his championship of the Protestant cause, chose as his principal editors, Huguenot exiles: Jean de Fonvive and Pierre Motteux. Fonvive was regarded as the best journalist in England not excepting Defoe, who acknowledged *The Postman* as "most to the purpose and most worth reading of any paper yet extant."⁴⁹ Dunton described Fonvive with fervent ecstasy:

His learning deserves respect and his gravity a weekly panegyric. Fonvive is one so wise and knowing that a man would think nature has made the rest of mankind in jest and him only in earnest. Fonvive is a weekly almanack shewing impartially what weather is in the state and like the Doves of Aleppo, carries news to every part of the world. As his news is good, so his style is excellent. His Fancy is brisk and beautiful and his remarks witness he knows how to soar to a pitch of fineness. Fonvive is the glory and mirror of news writers.⁵⁰

Although Dunton lauded the "impartiality" of this "Glory of news writers," Fonvive shared with his publisher a hearty contempt toward the Stuarts and their kinsmen at Versailles. He considered the former English government a cabal of rascals and tricksters who had engaged "weekly libellers to impose upon the people." The candor of his remarks had ushered his publisher and himself before the King's justice in November 1697, when they were bailed out of custody for their reflections "upon

⁴⁸ CBEL, II, 706; Morison, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁴⁹ Laurence Hanson, *Government and The Press 1695-1763* (Oxford, 1936), 88.

⁵⁰ Dunton, *op. cit.*, I, 428.

the dauphin and the crooked disposition and body of his eldest son the Duke of Burgundy.”⁵¹

Despite the political animosities of *The Postman*'s editor and publisher, they produced one of the principal London newspapers. *The Postman* appeared regularly each Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, so that “the reader with the London Gazette . . . with a very inconsiderable expense” could be “acquainted with all the Publick Transactions in Christendom.”⁵² Its policy was framed for the reader's information:

I shall write to you as often as I shall have any subject matters, but you must not always expect from me extraordinary things; so neither must you expect that I should take notice of all little trifles. This is the Province of the most Common News-Writers, with whom I do not design in the least to interfere.⁵³

For the most recent news *The Postman* retained correspondents in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Holland and elsewhere and reputedly netted its editor alone an annual income of six hundred pounds. Its renown was such that Marlborough demanded that it alone carry his front line dispatches.⁵⁴

The popularity of *The Postman* involved Baldwin in a series of journalistic rounds with Abel Roper, the proprietor of the rival paper, *The Post Boy*, with whom Baldwin had been formerly associated. A flyting warfare began between the two journalists upon Baldwin's announcement in the October 16, 1695, issue of *The Postman*:

Whereas I have for several months published a News Paper called the Post Boy, and the Historical Account I have now for some reasons thought fit to continue my Historical Account, by the same Author, with the additional Title of The Postman and to give notice that what advertisements shall be sent to me, shall be incerted [*sic*] in my News Paper as formerly.

⁵¹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, IV, 302.

⁵² Morison, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁵³ *An Account of The Publick Transactions*, Saturday, August 11, 1694.

⁵⁴ Dunton, *op. cit.*, I, 118; Hanson, *op. cit.*, 86.

Baldwin's statement received a terse and indignant reply from the publisher of *The Post Boy*:

Whereas R. Baldwin did on Thursday last publish a Paper called the Post Man where he would insinuate that the same was writ by the author of the Post Boy. This is to give notice that the Same is altogether False, for that the author of the said Post Man and Historical Account is Monsieur de Fonvive and that the Post Boy is, always was, writ by me and no other. If any has occasion to insert Advertisements therein, they are desired to send them to A. Roper, J. Moxon and R. Beardwell.⁵⁵

Rivalry between the publishers continued until Baldwin's death in 1698. Quarrels regarding mastheads, devices and distribution caused epithet and invective to pervade the respective camps at Warwick Lane and Fleet Street. By 1696 Baldwin had curried sufficient popular favor to enlarge his *Postman*. He now added a

Postscript on the 3d side of a whole sheet, which shall be done upon good paper and shall contain all the remarkable occurrences, if any Gentleman or News writers shall think fit to make use of them. They may have them at a very reasonable rate at the Publishers at the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane. There will be space left for business or what other news they shall think fit to insert. They are designed to be published at 4 in the afternoon every Post Day.⁵⁶

Upon Baldwin's death *The Postman* was continued by his widow Anne until 1700, when it was sold to Francis Leach in Eliott's Court. The popularity of her late husband's star sheet encouraged Mrs. Baldwin to publish in 1704 a French translation of the paper for distribution among London Huguenots and for foreign consumption.⁵⁷

Prior to the publication of *The Postman*, Baldwin had sponsored two dialogue papers. *The Pacquet of Advice from France*, a short-lived venture of six issues, appeared in April 1691. It dis-

⁵⁵ Morison, *op. cit.*, 60; *The Post Boy*, Thursday, October 24-Saturday, October 26, 1695.

⁵⁶ *The Postman*, February 4-6, 1696.

⁵⁷ Morison, *op. cit.*, 66; *CBEL*, II, 719.

cussed with fervor the political machinations of France and the progress of "French intrigue towards the enslaving of Europe."⁵⁸ Baldwin's *Mercurius Reformatus; or The New Observer*, edited by James Welwood, bore the Baldwin imprint from April to November 1691. It was a large folio sheet printed on both sides and considered a variety of foreign and domestic problems. Its editor commented upon "The French King's Conduct Toward the Irish," "The Present Election of a Lord Mayor," "The French King's Thirst After Empire," and other debatable subjects.⁵⁹ The paper included sundry advertisements, notices of Baldwin's publications and those of his colleagues. Having questioned Parliament's prosecution of the war, Baldwin was summoned before the House of Commons and shortly thereafter suspended the paper's publication.⁶⁰

Having familiarized the London public with the Baldwin imprint in books, tracts and news-sheets, the master of the Oxford Arms now offered the literary-minded two artistic productions. In January 1691 an interested reader could purchase from the shop in Warwick Lane the first number of *The Gentleman's Journal: or The Monthly Miscellany*.⁶¹ Its editor was Monsieur Pierre Motteux, a fellow exile of Jean de Fonvive, who sought his livelihood in London. Motteux, a native of Rouen, had arrived in the capital after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, where he had entered business, owning an East India warehouse on Leadenhall Street. Dissatisfied with commerce, he abandoned trade and pursued his literary muse. In Baldwin he found a sympathet-

⁵⁸ *The Times*, 32; CBEL, II, 658.

⁵⁹ CBEL, II, 705; *The Times*, 32, 33; *Mercurius Reformatus*, Vol. 4, no. 27, Saturday, October 3, 1691; no. 29, October 17, 1691.

⁶⁰ See notes 22 and 23; *ibid.*, Vol. 4, no. 28, Saturday, October 10, 1691; Vol. 4, no. 30, October 24, 1691.

⁶¹ *The Gentleman's Journal: or The Monthly Miscellany. By Way of Letter to a Gentleman in the Country. Consisting of News, History, Philosophy, Poetry, Musick, Translations, etc.* (London, 1691-92); CBEL, II, 531, 676. Advertisements for the *Journal* appeared in *The London Gazette* from June through January 1694.

ic champion for the exiled Huguenot and an able publisher for his aesthetic effusions. Baldwin published his translation of the *Works* of Rabelais, regarded by Pope as "mighty nimble and pert," and backed him as editor of *The Gentleman's Journal*.⁶²

The scope of this periodical, which was modelled on *Le Mercure Galant*, the Parisian Town Topics, was brought to the reader's attention:

All Learned and Ingenious Pieces in Verse or Prose, Historical Accounts, News, Novels, Songs and generally anything that may deserve to be made Publick; if sent to the Publisher at his House near Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, shall be carefully inserted by the author in the following journals which are designed to be published Monthly.⁶³

Contributors were advised not to forget "to discharge the postage."

Since the editorial policy of *The Gentleman's Journal* appears not to have been too discriminatory, Masters Baldwin and Motteux were deluged with a variety of material from known and unknown authors. Among the contributions were Dryden's *Cleomenes*, songs by Purcell, scientific discourses, stately essays and a less noble assortment of novels and reports: *Love's Alchymy: or, a Wife Got Out of the Fire, A Novel*; *A Letter from Moscow*; *An Account of a Painted Indian*; *The Jealous Husband*, and other selections. The periodical included a generous book-review section.⁶⁴

Although the *Journal* was well advertised in *The London Gazette*, it ran into publication difficulties and the reader soon found his monthly issues postponed. According to the publisher, such delays were to be ascribed merely to the "rigor of the weather and the author's indisposition." Although Motteux informed the subscriber that the December 1692 copies had been completely "sold off" and that former issues were being reprinted, Baldwin did not share his editor's confidence and welcomed as a partner in

⁶² Robert N. Cunningham, *Peter Anthony Motteux* (Oxford, 1933), 56.

⁶³ *The Gentleman's Journal*, January 1691/92: Advertisement.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, January 1691/92, February 1691/92, March 1691/92, July 1692.

January 1692/93 Richard Parker at the Unicorn.⁶⁵ Under their aegis *The Gentleman's Journal* continued until December 1693 when it was sold to Henry Rhodes at the Star.⁶⁶

A year after Baldwin had abandoned *The Gentleman's Journal* he became associated with a new literary journal, *Miscellaneous Letters*, founded in October 1694 by William Lindsey of the Angel near Lincoln's Inn, a man of "constant unaffected devotion."⁶⁷ The design of this literary venture was "to give an account of the Works of the Learned, both at Home and Abroad." The publishers planned to issue it as a weekly digest of the most recent books.

The Reader then may be pleased to take Notice that we don't intend a Translation or Collection of Foreign Journals, but to peruse both them and the authors themselves, that we may be more able to justify what we advance concerning them. The Reader is to expect an Idea of all valuable Books, printed either here or beyond the Sea. We do hereby invite all the Ingenious and Learned to impart to our Bookseller what they think may in any way promote Universal Learning . . . if any Author or Bookseller will give us notice of any work that he is about to publish, he both may prevent the interfering of any other and procure himself assistance from the learned.⁶⁸

Miscellaneous Letters carried sections on "English Books Printed in London" and a digest of foreign books. Individual issues sold for sixpence, and advertisements of current and forthcoming books were eagerly solicited by the owners. Although Masters Baldwin and Lindsey assured the public in January 1695 that their journal had met with general approval, they had decided to curtail its publication from weekly to monthly issues. Its far-flung associations were further emphasized:

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, February 1691/92, December 1692. For Parker, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1668-1725), 234.

⁶⁶ *The Gentleman's Journal*, February 1694; *The London Gazette*, no. 2955, March 5, 1693.

⁶⁷ *Miscellaneous Letters, Giving an Account of the Works of the Learned, Both at Home and Abroad* (London, October 17, 1694); *CBEL*, II, 675; for Lindsey, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1668-1725), 189.

⁶⁸ *Miscellaneous Letters*, no. 1, October 17, 1694.

We are so well provided with Foreign Books and have settled such a good Correspondence beyond Sea, that no valuable Book can escape us: so that we can assure the Reader of the best entertainment which the Commonwealth of Learning affords.⁶⁹

Although the reader may have been assured of the international relations and sound status of *Miscellaneous Letters*, Baldwin appears to have entertained some doubts regarding the periodical's stability, and in April 1695, he sold his interest to Henry Rhodes, who two years earlier had purchased from him *The Gentleman's Journal*.⁷⁰

As a publisher of books and tracts, news-sheets and periodicals, Baldwin carried a large and diversified stock. In addition to his own publications, he sold a variety of books published by different London and provincial dealers. These, like many of his own imprints, reflect the contemporary political and religious scene. In addition, the reader might have found an occasional play, a novel, scientific report, or historical memoir at the Baldwin office. His inventory included *The Abdicated Prince A Comedy*, Le Clerc's *Memoirs of Emeric Count of Tekely*, Ames' *Pleasures of Love and Marriage*, Aphra Behn's *The Younger Brother or Amorous Jilt*, the French edition of Boileau's *Ode Pindarique, A Full Account of the Late Earthquake in Jamaica*, and a variety of other titles.⁷¹

There can be little doubt that Baldwin prospered. At the very outset of his career he employed two apprentices, and in 1684 engaged Samuel Briscoe of Barton on the Heath. Briscoe, known as "Honest Sam," was to set up shop in 1691 at the corner of Charles Street, where he became a popular publisher of the plays of Dryden, Wycherley and Congreve.⁷² In 1683 Baldwin owned

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 11, January 1695.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 13, March 1695.

⁷¹ Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 313, 439; Wing, *op. cit.*, A2987, B1778; CBEL, II, 45; Wing, F2267.

⁷² *Apprentices Register Book, 1666-1697*: "2 June 1684: Samuel Briscoe sonn of Samuel Briscoe late of Barton on the Heath in County of Warwick Bound to Richard Baldwin for seven years." See also Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1668-1725), 50.

or rented a warehouse for the storage of his increasing stock.⁷³ He was admitted in December 1692 to the livery of the Stationers' Company.⁷⁴ Although Dunton stated that Baldwin "printed a great deal but got as little by it as I," there is some discrepancy in the distinguished biographer's appraisal of his colleague's career. According to Dunton, Baldwin moved to Warwick Lane since "his fame for publishing spread so fast, he grew too big to handle his small tools. Mr. Baldwin having got acquainted with persons of quality, he was now for taking a shop in Fleet Street."⁷⁵

Baldwin never took "a shop in Fleet Street," but remained at the Oxford Arms near Warwick Lane, where he had moved in 1690, occupying the former premises of Charles Corbet, a dealer in music. Here he was ever ready "to take a cherishing glass to oblige a customer." Here he was a neighbor of the celebrated pressman, Joseph Moxon at the Sign of the Atlas, and here he was in close proximity to the College of Physicians and Child's Coffee House, a rendezvous for the distinguished Richard Mead, Sir Hans Sloane, and disputatious clergymen.

It was from Warwick Lane that Richard Baldwin continued to publish and sell books, pamphlets and newspapers advancing the cause of English nationalism. It was in Warwick Lane in 1698 that Richard Baldwin after twenty-one years of incessant activity was "flattered into the grave by a long consumption."⁷⁶ His tumultuous career now at an end, Baldwin's aggressive and restless spirit was laid to rest in the graveyard of Wycombe parish.

Although Richard Baldwin could no longer personally vilify the King of France and his royal henchmen, James Stuart and

⁷³ See note 19 with reference to copies of Hunt's *Defence of the Charter* in Baldwin's warehouse.

⁷⁴ *Court Book*, 103 (MS, Stationers' Hall): "5th December 1692: George Mortimer, Richard Baldwin, John Wyatt and Thomas Rawson were those admitted into the Livery or Clothing of this Company."

⁷⁵ Dunton, *op. cit.*, I, 259.

⁷⁶ Dunton, *Life and Errors*, I, 259.

his obsequious lackeys, the Tories and their pandering sycophants, or confront the majesty of the King's Bench, or confer with the "Glory of the news-writers," or "take a cherishing glass" with a favored customer, he had bequeathed his will to fight and his passion for English "rights and liberties" to his wife. In Anne Baldwin the spirit of her husband had not been vanquished, but glowed steadfast and true.

Dunton described Anne Baldwin as "an help meet of her husband" who "eased him of all his publishing work. Since she has been a widow [she] might vie with all in Europe for accuracy in keeping accmpts."⁷⁷

Mrs. Baldwin kept her accounts and sold her tracts and periodicals from her late husband's shop at the Oxford Arms near Warwick Lane from 1699 to 1713, either the year of her retirement from the book trade or of her death. During this period Anne Baldwin published an approximate 237 works. Of this number fifty per cent represent contemporary and foreign issues. Twenty-five per cent are of a theological character, while the remaining portion cover the fields of literature, science and miscellaneous matters.⁷⁸

Anne Baldwin's activity as a publisher and bookseller spans a period of fifteen years, which were not incomparable in their domestic and foreign issues to those confronted by her husband. Her actions recall those of Richard Baldwin, and his influence is manifest in her strong Whiggish sympathies and her anti-Bourbon vituperations. At home England underwent a succession of governments and abroad still faced the aggressive challenge of the undaunted monarch of Versailles, who was to witness the victories of the English army and the triumphant allied peace treaty at the Congress of Utrecht.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 236, 260.

⁷⁸ For an approximate total of Mrs. Baldwin's publications compare Arber, *op. cit.*; *Transcript*; Wing, *op. cit.*; William D. Morgan, *A Bibliography of British History (1700-1715)* (Bloomington, 1934-1941).

The various domestic shifts, the battle-line reports of the English forces and the glowing successes of Marlborough were grist for the press. The latest rumor of government intrigue and foreign misalliance was transmuted into a two- or three-penny tract. With the abolition of the Licensing Act of 1695, the English book trade had received a greater stimulus for self-expression, and Grub Street became the Eden of the pamphleteer and news vendor. A manna of tracts, lampoons, squibs, pamphlets, postscripts and penny sheets rained down upon the coffeehouses and political clubs. The ever-zealous Master Luttrell was once again to bemoan the calamitous condition of the press. In March 1702, he reported that the government had published two proclamations:

One to restrain the spreading of false news, printing or publishing seditious papers and libels reflecting on her Majestie or the government. The offender shall be proceeded against with the utmost severity of the law.⁷⁹

Bolingbroke, Secretary of State, condemned the laws of a country which are

too weak to punish effectually factious scribblers who presume to blacken the brightest characters and to give even scurrilous language to those who are in the first degree of honor,

while Swift regarded the multitude of pamphlets as "the vilest thing in nature" and referred to the activity of the "Republica Grubstreetaria" in 1709 as "never in greater altitude."⁸⁰

By 1711, Bolingbroke, incensed by the "scurrilous language" of an unbridled press, arrested fourteen booksellers, printers and publishers for "printing and publishing Libels and Ballads, some of which write really scandalous invectives against the Ministry

⁷⁹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, V, 157.

⁸⁰ Bolingbroke to the Earl of Stafford, July 13, 1712, in *Letters and Correspondence Public and Private of the Rt. Hon. Henry St. John Lord Viscount Bolingbroke*, ed. Gilbert Parke (London, 1798), I, 600; Swift to Robert Hunter, March 22, 1708/9 in *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. F. E. Ball (London, 1910), I, 142.

and Government.”⁸¹ It is quite possible that Anne Baldwin was among those apprehended. As a true successor to the late Richard Baldwin, she would not have been in the least intimidated by the authority of her Majesty’s Court, and as an able disciple of the master of the Oxford Arms, she would have circulated “Libels and Ballads” offensive to the Tory government.

Against the background of an almost unrestrained press Anne Baldwin published her numerous political tracts, supporting the Whigs and criticizing the Tories, reporting and celebrating foreign victories and calumniating the despot of Versailles. Among her important publications relating to domestic issues were the writings of the Whig authors: Defoe, Harley, Prior and Hare. From 1700 to 1710 nine of Defoe’s pamphlets emerged from the Warwick Arms. Among these were the *Villainy of Stock-Jobbers Detected*; *The Present State of Jacobitism Considered*; *Tempus Adest*; or *a War Inevitable*, and *A Speech without Doors*.⁸² In 1711 Mrs. Baldwin published five editions of *The Management of the War* by the Whig clergyman, Francis Hare, and three issues of his *Letter to a Member of the October Club*.⁸³ The same year witnessed Marlborough’s great defeat over the French at Bouchain which was celebrated in dialogue by Hare, who had regarded the campaign as “the best conducted siege of the War.” The work was caustically reviewed by Bolingbroke:

There came out the other day a Pamphlet called Bouchain writ by (Marl-

⁸¹ Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain* (London, 1711), II, 645; see also Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold S. Williams (Oxford, 1948), II, 394.

⁸² Defoe, *The Two Great Questions Consider’d* (London, 1700); *The Villainy of Stock-Jobbers Detected* (London, 1701); *The Present State of Jacobitism Considered* (London, 1701); *Letter to Mr. How* (London, 1701); *Tempus Adest*; or *a War Inevitable* (London, 1702); *Some Remarks on the first Chapter in Dr. Davenant’s Essay concerning Appeals to the People from their Representatives* (London, 1703); *Original Right or the Reasonableness of Appeals to the People* (London, 1704); *The Scot’s Narrative Examined* (London, 1709); *A Speech without Doors* (London, 1710). See Wing, *op. cit.*, D850; Morgan, *op. cit.*, D125, D120, D117, E155, F121, G151, L104, M190.

⁸³ Morgan, *op. cit.*, N269, N270. See *The Spectator*, “Letter to the October Club,” no. 118, July 16, 1711.

borough's) stupid priest Hare which is one entire Panegyric upon His Grace and invective . . . against the Queen and all who serve her.⁸⁴

Swift considered Hare's *The Allies and the Late Ministry Defended in Answer to a Pamphlet Intituled the Conduct of the Allies* "a good for nothing six penny tract," while Mathew Prior's poem, *When the Cat's Away the Mice May Play*, was regarded by the critical Dean as "a Whiggish poem and good for nothing."⁸⁵ In 1712 Mrs. Baldwin issued Steele's *The Englishman's Thanks to the Duke of Marlborough*, his first political pamphlet written in indignation after the Queen's dismissal of the Duke and in 1713, Steele's *Importance of Dunkirk Considered* bore the Baldwin imprint, becoming a target for numerous Tory shafts.⁸⁶

Although Mrs. Baldwin's political publications did not reflect the opinions of a united England, her anti-French tracts expressed general national sentiment. Having announced the legality of the French claims to the Spanish throne, Louis XIV had hurled a bombshell into the allied camp. Mrs. Baldwin immediately published the important anonymous review of the injustice of the King's pretensions entitled *The Duke of Anjou's Succession, Parts I & II*. James Methuen, the English foreign minister, took prompt notice of this recent imprint and brought it to the attention of a member of the Foreign Office:

Today has appeared in print (by help of Baldwin) the famous Treaty for the Division of the Spanish Monarchy. It will afford you an afternoon's entertainment in polite reflection.⁸⁷

Among the other tracts reflecting English hostility toward the

⁸⁴ [Francis Hare], *Bouchain: in a dialogue between the late Medley and Examiner*. For this work, see Morgan, *op. cit.*, N262, also *The Spectator*, no. 172, September 17, 1711; see also Bolingbroke to the Earl of Orrery, September 25, 1711, in *Letters and Correspondence*, I, 227.

⁸⁵ Morgan, *op. cit.*, N261, O557; see also Swift, *Journal to Stella*, II, 431, 477; also *The Spectator*, no. 241, December 6, 1711, no. 290, February 1, 1712.

⁸⁶ Morgan, *op. cit.*, O632, P569; see *The Spectator*, no. 266, January 4, 1712; *The Correspondence of Richard Steele*, edited by Rae Blanchard (London, 1941), 466, 84, 291.

⁸⁷ Morgan, *op. cit.*, D16; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series, 1700-1702* (London, 1937), VI, 90.

French issued from the Oxford Arms were *Aesop in Spain*, *The Dangers of Europe from the Growing Power of France*, *The Old French Way of Managing Treaties*, and *The Offers of France Explained*.⁸⁸

Of unusual interest among Mrs. Baldwin's publications are those championing the causes of social welfare. The abuses suffered by the English seamen had been the subject of controversy in the press. As early as 1689, Luttrell referred to the navy's inadequate and foul commissary department:

We have an account from our fleet that strange abuses have been committed in victualling the ships with provisions and beers: that amongst the meat hath been found many galls and much copperis in the beer, gutts and garbage which hath occasioned a strong mortality among the seamen.⁸⁹

As an advocate of seamen's rights, Mrs. Baldwin joined the controversy in 1699 and published four works demanding navy reform: *A Letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the Four Regiments called Mariners*, *A Short Vindication of Marine Regiments*, *The State of the Navy Considered in relating to Victualling* and *The Seaman's Opinion of a Standing Army in England*.⁹⁰ The last two tracts sold for three and four pence, respectively, and contained lists of current books relating to this and allied issues, including "Books written against a standing Army sold by A. Baldwin." From the Oxford Arms could be purchased the *Present State of the Prison of Ludgate* and *The Rates of the Hackney Coaches and Chairs*, selling at twopence, a work which had offered some compromise on the regulation of wages for the London coachman.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Morgan, *op. cit.*, D11, E133, N460; *The Spectator*, no. 306, February 20, 1712.

⁸⁹ Luttrell, *op. cit.*, I, 592.

⁹⁰ Wing, *op. cit.*, L1670, S3643, S5322, S2189.

⁹¹ Morgan, *op. cit.*, M526; see *The Spectator*, no. 183, September 29, 1711; *The Rates of Hackney Coaches and Chairs* (London, Castle and sold by A. Baldwin, 1711), pr. 2d. Luttrell, *op. cit.*, III, 297, "April 21, 1694 The hackny coachmens' wives and widdowes have for some time past crowded the House of Commons in great numbers clamouring against the bill for the regulating of them."

For the advertisement of her stock Mrs. Baldwin employed publicity media similar to those used by her husband. Forthcoming books were announced in her own publications, newspapers and periodicals. The merits of particular editions were brought to the reader's attention. *The Treaty Betwixt the King and the States General of the United Provinces* was described as having been

the subject of the Gazettes beyond the Sea, and of Common Discourse here, and an Abstract thereof having been Published very Imperfect, if not Erroneous; for the Information of Mankind, it is here translated from the best copy that could be gotten to let the Nation see the care His Majesty takes to prevent new Wars and by Consequence the further effusion of our Blood and Treasure.⁹²

The public was advised of a new edition of John Tillotson's *Sermon Preached at the Morning Exercise in Cripple Gate* as "Printed in a larger character and finer paper which may be bound up with any of the author's octavo volumes." Oldmixon's *Defence of Mr. Maccartney* was published by Mrs. Baldwin in 1712 and advertised as containing "Incontrovertible Truth."⁹³

Mrs. Baldwin announced the sale of her stock in current issues of *The London Gazette*, *The Spectator*, *The Tatler* and *The Monthly Register*. The price range of her political pamphlets was similar to that established by her husband. Hare's diatribes varied from twopence to a shilling, while Defoe's *Villainy of Stock-Jobbers* could be purchased for sixpence and his *Speech without Doors* at twopence. The anti-French tracts ranged from threepence to a shilling, and religious works retailed at approximately the same prices.⁹⁴

⁹² Wing L3139 (London, 1700).

⁹³ Morgan, *op. cit.*, L403 (London, 1709); Morgan, O512 (London, 1712).

⁹⁴ Hare, *Allies and Ministry Defended against France* (London, 1711), 1s.; *Duke of Marlborough Vindicated* (London, 1711), 2d.; *Letter to a Member of the October Club* (London, 1711), 6d.; Defoe, *Villainy of Stock-Jobbers Detected* (London, 1701), 6d.; *Speech without Doors* (London, 1710), 2d.; *Letter to Mr. How* (London, 1701), 6d.; *The Scots' Narrative Examined* (London, 1709), 1s.; Harley, *Supplement to Faults in Fault Finder* (London, 1711), 3d.; *History of*

Mrs. Baldwin's income, like that of her late husband, depended not only upon the sale of her own books and those of her colleagues but upon the publication and distribution of a variety of political, popular and literary journals. She acted as a distributing agent for several political journals: *The New State of Europe* and *The Politick Spy*, both published in 1701. *The Monthly Register*, edited and printed by that "Linguist of Wit," Samuel Buckley, was sold for sixpence an issue at the Warwick Arms. This monthly contained domestic and foreign reports which, Dunton claimed, Buckley had "translated out of the Foreign Papers himself."⁹⁵

As an independent publisher, Mrs. Baldwin sponsored *The Medley*, the Whig counterpart to the *Examiner*, the mouthpiece of the Tory ministry. *The Medley*, published from October 1710 to August 1711, was issued semiweekly, appearing on Mondays and Fridays. The paper was edited by Arthur Maynwaring, a member of the Kit-Kat Club, with the assistance of Steele, Anthony Henley and John Oldmixon. The last-named gentleman averred that he had been promised 100 pounds down payment and an equal amount as his annual salary for his work on *The Medley*, "but alas that emolument I heard of, but never received." Swift referred caustically to the editors of *The Medley* as "those devils of Grub Street, rogues that write the Flying Post and Medley in one paper, will not be quiet. They are always insulting Lord Bolingbroke and me."⁹⁶

Peace with France (London, 1712), 1s.; *Friendship of King Lewis Always Fatal* (London, 1712), 1s.; *The Offers of France Explained* (London, 1712), 3d.; Bucquoy, *The Bait of Europe or the Duke of Anjou's Renunciation* (London, 1713), 6d.

⁹⁵ *The Times*, 35; CBEL, II, 706; *The Times*, 34; CBEL, II, 659; Morgan, *op. cit.*, V, 251, CBEL, II, 676; Morgan, V, 190. Advertisements for *The Monthly Register* appeared in *The London Gazette*, no. 3990, February 3, 1703, no. 3996, February 24, 1703, no. 4002, March 16, 1703, no. 4003, March 20, 1703, no. 4045, August 10, 1704, no. 4080, December 14, 1704, etc. For Buckley, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1668-1725), 56; Dunton, *op. cit.*, II, 234.

⁹⁶ CBEL, II, 707; James Grant, *The Newspaper Press* (London, 1871), I, 98 f.; David H. Stevens, *Party Politics and English Journalism* (Chicago, 1916), 70;

Because of a misunderstanding with Mrs. Baldwin in August 1711, Maynwaring changed publishers and transferred the printing and distribution of the journal to John Baker of the Black Boy in Paternoster Row. Mrs. Baldwin, however, was not to be discouraged by this gesture of disloyalty. She continued to issue her own series of *The Medley*, which aroused an indignant protest from her rival:

The Medley No. 21 that was published on Monday last by Mrs. A. Baldwin, was not wrote by the author of the first Twenty, but the true one was published by J. Baker at the Black Boy in Paternoster Row, and will continue to be published by him every Tuesday and Friday. Price One Penny. The Medley printed on Monday last by Mrs. A. Baldwin is a spurious one.⁹⁷

Mrs. Baldwin was not to be silenced. The two *Medleys* continued as rival publications until the passage of the Stamp Act in 1712, when their demise was happily hailed by Swift: "The Medleys are jumbled together with the Flying Post."⁹⁸

Mrs. Baldwin was also the publisher of *The British Merchant of Commerce Preserved*, a semiweekly issued from August 1713 to July 1714, continued after her death or retirement by Ferdinand Burleigh, Jr., selling at three halfpenny a copy. The periodical, edited by Charles King, a prominent London merchant, aimed to refute the economic policies of Defoe in his *Mercator*. The paper attacked the pro-French groups and discussed tariffs, exports and imports of wines, silks, linen, paper and kidskins. King was assisted by Henry Martyn and Joshua Gee and enjoyed the patronage of the Earl of Halifax, "the support and very spirit of the paper." With the enthusiastic endorsement of the commercial classes, *The British Merchant* more than neutral-

William Lee, "Periodical Publications During the Twenty Years 1712 to 1732" in *Notes and Queries* (London, 1866), 3rd series, IX, 74; Frederick W. Hope, *Catalogue of a Collection of Early Newspapers presented to the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1865), 85; Hanson, *op. cit.*, 63; Swift, *Journal to Stella*, I, 254.

⁹⁷ *The Spectator*, no. 380, May 16, 1712.

⁹⁸ Swift, *Journal to Stella*, II, 553.

ized the effect of the *Mercator*. Having won its cause, the journal was discontinued.⁹⁹

Mrs. Baldwin ably gauged not only the political temperament of the London reader but also the literary inclinations of a large group of householders, who pursued with little interest the policies of Maynwaring, Oldmixon, King and the Earl of Halifax. While the *British Apollo* appealed to the literary and sartorial tastes of the London beau, Mrs. Baldwin's *Female Tatler* was to prove equally attractive to the housewife with its tales of romance, rich in aristocratic and flowery backgrounds, its advertisements of Peptycon for Weak Digestion and the sage comments of its omniscient editor, an eighteenth-century Dorothy Dix.

The Female Tatler made its bow to the London public on Friday, July 8, 1709. It was edited by one Mrs. Crackenthorpe, who described herself as "A Lady that knows everything." Its masthead bore an oval portrait of this journalistic Minerva with her motto: "Sum Canna Vocalis." Although Mrs. Crackenthorpe strove to conceal her name, she has been identified as the well-known authoress, Mrs. Mary de la Rivière Manley, currently described by Swift as "about forty, very homely and very fat." Mrs. Manley was the author of several successful plays, *The Lost Lover, or the Jealous Husband*, *The Royal Mischief*, and a novel, *The Secret History of Queen Zarah*, which reflected her amazing capacity for intrigue and slander.¹⁰⁰

The first eighteen numbers of *The Female Tatler* had been published by Benjamin Bragge, printer and bookseller of the Black Raven in Paternoster Row. With the publication of Number 19, August 15, 1709, its sagacious editor transferred her journal to Mrs. Anne Baldwin, since she had been "disingenuously treated" by brother Bragge. Her former publisher not only "disingenu-

⁹⁹ Morgan, *op. cit.*, V27; CBEL, II, 660.

¹⁰⁰ CBEL, II, 661; H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers* (London, 1887), I, 68; Grant, *op. cit.*, I, 97; Hope, *op. cit.*, 78; S. J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, eds., *British Authors Before 1800*, 338-339; Swift, *Journal to Stella*, II, 474.

ously treated" his former editor, but immediately "set up some pitiful scoundrel . . . to impose upon the Town a sham paper, upon another person's Foundation and talks of Ladies Drawing Rooms who never got admitted into Tolerable Company."¹⁰¹ Thus as in the case of the rival *Medleys*, the genuine and spurious *Female Tatlers* continued to outwit each other in their attempt to curry customers' allegiance.

The genuine *Female Tatler* was published by Anne Baldwin from August 1709 to March 1710. Twenty-six of its issues were edited by Mrs. Crackenthorpe, dubbed by her enemies as "Scandalosissima Scoundrelia." The readers of this folio sheet were modestly informed of the editor's purpose. Mrs. Crackenthorpe regarded herself merely as "Mr. Bickerstaffe's fellow laborer" and issued her periodical on "contrary days" not taken by *The Tatler*. Mrs. Crackenthorpe, however, supplied her subscribers with sugar-coated slander and malicious gossip which her "fellow laborer" Mr. Bickerstaff would undoubtedly have rejected. To offset the true purpose of this gossip sheet, Mrs. Crackenthorpe constantly impressed upon the reader her high ideals and personal integrity. She obdurately refused a gift of a contributor, "Mr. Crossfortune," who had offered her as a bribe a pair of gloves for the insertion of "an undesirable letter about a lady." Readers were informed of a system of blackmail instigated by a "scandalous Fellow about Town" who wished to publish "sham letters" in *The Female Tatler*. The editor bemoaned so

insufferable a Practise knowing it to be an Imposition on the Publick which was never the Design of this paper, it being only to expose Vice and Folly and to commend Justice and Honesty.¹⁰²

Assuring the reader of her unflagging interest in the cause of social justice, Mrs. Crackenthorpe announced that she was engaged in the compilation of a list of "forestallers" and "en-

¹⁰¹ Paul B. Anderson, "The History and Authorship of Mrs. Crackenthorpe's *Female Tatler*" in *Modern Philology*, XXVIII (1931), 355.

¹⁰² *The Female Tatler*, no. 39, October 3, 1709; no. 45, October 17, 1709.

grossers" to be published in forthcoming issues. She advised further that her man Francis planned a visit to the churches of the city and suburbs to apprehend "any clergyman guilty of spiritual Lingeridge, that is taking a Nap or Smoaking a Pipe in the Vestry, at Prayer Time and then mount the Pulpit." The malefactor would find his name in the black list of the "Lady that knows everything."¹⁰³

With her infinite wisdom Mrs. Crackenthorpe was in that rare elevated position of giving infallible advice to readers young and old on every problem. In October 1709,

the young lady in the Parish of St. Laurence near Guild Hall, that lately went to the Coffee House in Man's Cloathes with two 'Prentices, called for a Dish of Bohee, smoak'd her Pipe, and gave herself an abundance of Stroddling Masculine Airs, is desir'd to do so no more.

At the same time "the Gentleman that gave Mrs. Crackenthorpe an Invitation per Penny Post to come to his Lodgings at Ham to have her throat cut, was to expect an answer to his Letter shortly." Her omniscient messages were directed to

the two Old Maids at High Gate who call themselves Nuns and to Mrs. Tawdry . . . not to be Fantastically Whimsicall in her Dress as Nothing is more Disagreeable and Ridiculous than to see Women of her years affect the Gay Youthful Airs of their Daughters.¹⁰⁴

It is quite possible that "the Lady who knows everything" knew too much. By October 1709, too many subscribers to *The Female Tatler* had found themselves victimized by Madam "Scandalosissima Scoundrelia." Mrs. Crackenthorpe now found her paper, her publisher and herself indicted by the Grand Jury of Middlesex, which declared that

A Great Number of printed papers are continually dispersed under the name of the Female Tatler sold by A. Baldwin and other papers under other Titles . . . which . . . reflect on and scandalously abuse several per-

¹⁰³ *The Female Tatler*, no. 40, October 5, 1709; no. 44, October 14, 1709.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 38, September 30-October 3, 1709; no. 47, October 21-24, 1709; no. 49, October 26-28, 1709.

sons of honour and quality, many of the magistrates and abundance of citizens and all sorts of people . . . which practise we conceive to be a great nuisance. We therefore humbly hope this honourable Court will take effectual care to prevent these abuses as their wisdom shall see fit.¹⁰⁵

On November 1, 1709, Mrs. Baldwin "saw fit" to remove her omniscient editor. Mrs. Crackenthorpe regretfully announced her retirement because of "an affront offer'd to her by some rude citizens, altogether unacquainted with her person." *The Female Tatler* was now conducted by "A Society of Ladies" until its final eclipse in March, 1710, shortly after the publication of Mrs. Crackenthorpe's *New Atlantis*, whose quips and jibes recalled familiar sallies in *The Female Tatler* recently edited by a "Lady that knows everything."¹⁰⁶

A far less inflammable publication, but highly mercurial in content, was Mrs. Baldwins' *Monthly Weather Paper* published during March and April 1711. The sheet contained "Boroscopic Discoveries from what Part or Parts of the Compass the Wind may likely flow, with what other sorts and alterations of the weather may be expected every Day and Night in March (and April) 1710/11." *The Monthly Weather Paper* was planned as a guide for the fogbound Londoner, the timid traveller and the cautious visitor.¹⁰⁷

Although Mrs. Baldwin had been compelled to relinquish *The Female Tatler* in 1711, she did not abandon her interest in the distribution of literary magazines. She acted as an agent for the sale of the *Memoirs of Literature* edited by the Huguenot exile, Michel de la Roche, and published by J. Roberts.¹⁰⁸ In this capacity Mrs. Baldwin came to be associated with one of the foremost of the eighteenth-century literary periodicals. On March 1,

¹⁰⁵ Andrews, *op. cit.*, 114.

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, *op. cit.*, 355.

¹⁰⁷ CBEL, II, 675; see advertisements in *The Spectator*, no. 12, March 14, 1711; no. 28, April 2, 1711; no. 42, April 18, 1711.

¹⁰⁸ CBEL, II, 675; *The Times*, 36. For Roberts see Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1668-1725), 255.

1711, the first issue of *The Spectator* left the press. It was printed for Samuel Buckley at The Dolphin in Little Britain and sold by A. Baldwin in Warwick Lane.¹⁰⁹ Mrs. Baldwin had been previously associated with Buckley, "the Linguist of Wit" in the sale of *The Monthly Register*. As his agent she also solicited advertisements for the journal. The following year she was joined by Charles Lillie, the celebrated perfumer, at the Corner of the Beaufort Buildings in the Strand. Lillie, the author of the *British Perfumer*, whose pages included a variety of recipes for the scents of ambergris, civet, dragon's blood and jessamine, had established an attractive shop which was the rendezvous for the London literary lights, Steele, Addison, Swift and Pope.¹¹⁰ Mrs. Baldwin, with Lillie and later with other colleagues, not only sold *The Spectator*, but also used the periodical as an advertising medium. She continued to retail and solicit advertisements for the journal until its suspension in December 1712.¹¹¹

Although Mrs. Baldwin had not been associated with *The Tatler*, she sponsored a continuation of Mr. Bickerstaff's popular lucubrations. A new *Tatler*, edited by William Harrison, a young English poet and protégé of Swift, made its first appearance on January 13, 1711. Its début was immediately reported by the Dean to his Stella:

Today little Harrison's New Tatler came out. There is not much in it, but I hope he will mend. You must understand that upon Steele's leaving off, there were two or three Scrub Tatlers come out, and one of them holds on still and today it is advertised against Harrison's. I am afraid the little toad has not the true vein for it.¹¹²

Swift's prediction proved correct. The "little toad" transferred

¹⁰⁹ *The Spectator*, no. 1. "To be continued every day, Thursday, March 1, 1711." (London, Printed for Sam Buckley at the Dolphin in Little Britain and Sold by A. Baldwin in Warwick Lane); *CBEL*, II, 661.

¹¹⁰ Charles Lillie, *The British Perfumer* (London, 1822); *The Tatler*, no. 96, November 17, 1709; *The Spectator*, no. 16, March 19, 1711.

¹¹¹ Mrs. Baldwin was associated with the complete series of *The Spectator*, 555 numbers, March 1, 1711-December 6, 1712.

¹¹² *CBEL*, II, 661; Swift, *Journal to Stella*, I, 179.

the publication of no. 7 of his *Tatler* to Morpew, and the entire project was abandoned in May 1711.

While the habitués of the political clubs discussed the economic policies advocated by *The British Merchant* or read with indignation the Comte de Cerdan's *Europe A Slave*, and the devotees of the coffee houses recalled with delight the antics of Sir Roger de Coverley and young ladies yearned for past issues of *The Female Tatler*, Anne Baldwin bade her farewell to the subscribers of her journals and the readers of her tracts. Mrs. Baldwin either retired from the trade or died in November 1713. If the former be true, she may have been sufficiently affected by the levy of the Stamp Tax of 1712 to withdraw from business. The new excise had deeply disturbed the denizens of Fleet Street. "All Grub Street is dead and gone. No more ghosts for love or money" was the gleeful comment of Swift, while Addison contended that "many authors will have probably published their last works."¹¹³

Whether Mrs. Baldwin was compelled to retire or had died, the Oxford Arms now had a new master, J. Roberts, with whom she had been associated in the dissemination of the *Memoirs of Literature* and several publications. Roberts, regarded as a "printer of great eminence," now occupied the shop near Warwick Lane where Richard and Anne Baldwin had reigned as undisputed proprietors for a period of twenty-three years.¹¹⁴

Although the master and mistress of the Oxford Arms no longer shared personal contact with the great capital of the book trade, their influence had been impressed upon a larger common-

¹¹³ Swift, *Journal to Stella*, II, 553; Grant, *op. cit.*, I, 98 f.; Stevens, *op. cit.*, 61.

¹¹⁴ Mrs. Baldwin had been associated with Roberts in the sale of John Gilbert, *Reflections on Dr. Fleetwood's Essay* (London, 1706); see Plomer, *op. cit.*, (1668-1725), 255; Nichols, *op. cit.*, 737. It appears that Mrs. Baldwin was no longer active by November 27, 1713. She had published all earlier issues of *The British Merchant*; Nov. 24-27, 1713, bears the imprint of Ferd. Burleigh Jun., London House Yard. Of course it is possible that she had sold the publication to Burleigh. It is, however, at this period that books with Roberts' imprint emerge from the Oxford Arms near Warwick Lane.

wealth. Their purpose of existence had been reflected in their publications, which conveyed the national and patriotic loyalties of lovers of "ancient liberties." Their devotion to the cause of English republicanism reveals the championship of the commercial middle class, the backbone of the Augustan age. Their tracts and news-sheets, berating the French, indicate the insular and pugnacious character of John Bull. The many works published by the Baldwins sustained the trend of English political ideology. Designed for hasty consumption and a wide circulation, such books supported and heightened English nationalism.

A man of uncompromising personal conviction and unrelenting political prejudice, Richard Baldwin followed a pattern of action which involved legal hazard and social ostracism. He faced the power of the King's Bench and met the disapproval of his guild. Despite his admission that he "published to get money by way of his trade," the sincerity of Baldwin's patriotism cannot be questioned. As his successor, Anne Baldwin continued in her husband's tradition and helped achieve English victory abroad and at home through the propaganda of her press.

The careers of the Baldwins reflect a unity of spirit and a dedication to good causes. While the English armies combatted a foreign enemy to safeguard the realm with musket and pike, Richard and Anne Baldwin helped rally the domestic front with journal and tract. With an unflagging devotion to the "rights and liberties" of their fellow-men, Richard and Anne Baldwin take their place among the champions of English political freedom.

The 1680 Editions of Rochester's *Poems* With Notes on Earlier Texts

By WILLIAM B. TODD

THE recent appearance in facsimile of Rochester's *Poems on Several Occasions*,¹ with its detailed editorial apparatus, provides both the material and the incentive for additional research on the authority of the text reproduced. When so much labor has already been expended with this very end in view, it is perhaps invidious to expect more; yet if slightly more had been performed, an entirely different result would have been achieved. Unlike the solution of most bibliographical problems, this one depends ultimately upon the scope of the collation. And when, as in this problem, the collation is limited to the ten extant 1680 editions, without reference to the texts of certain poems which antedate their publication in book form, it may serve to postulate the existence of other editions now lost, and to link all editions real and assumed in their rightful sequence, but not to establish their priority. The outcome of such a limited collation is simply an articulated chain, nothing else. In asserting the precedence of the edition represented by the Huntington copy (HU), Professor Thorpe has therefore hoisted it upon a reasonable presumption, suitably reinforced with equally plausible hypotheses, and allowed the other components to dangle below

¹ Actually the work of several poets, reproduced and edited by James Thorpe (Princeton University Press, 1950). The present study was undertaken during my tenure in 1952-53 as a Fulbright Research Fellow in 18th-Century Bibliography. Some infelicities in expression and a few errors in fact have been retrieved, at the last moment, through the kind intercession of Messrs. John Hayward and David M. Vieth.

it. After these have fallen into place, he is then able to construct the stemma indicated by figure "A."

When, however, the collation is extended to earlier printed and manuscript texts, Mr. Thorpe's premises become untenable, his synthetic structure collapses, and the actual first edition emerges as that represented by the unique Pforzheimer copy (PF) whose readings approximate most closely the archetypal text from which all editions successively derive. The stemma to which this edition belongs accordingly corresponds to "B."

To justify this new arrangement I offer, first, a provisional check-list of the earlier separate texts at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library (a necessary but admittedly wearisome account, sufficiently annotated, I trust, to disclose the number, grouping, date, and attribution of many items unreported in previous studies²), and, secondly, a tabulation of the readings in these texts which appear to be relevant to the present investigation. Whether all the selected readings derive immediately and exclusively from manuscripts or printings in circulation before 1680 is, I believe, of little consequence, since with several minor exceptions all relate to others demonstrably of earlier date and therefore together represent a text anterior to that of the original collected edition of 1680. Now at some point in the transmission of this earlier text a group of documents was appropriated as the copy (C) for the first edition. This copy, the essential link between the two sequences, is omitted in Mr. Thorpe's construction. That C remains unknown to us is, again, of little moment, for the related documents will suffice in its absence.

² Some of these are unclassified in the first-line indexes maintained by these two institutions, in Bodley because the register is still in preparation, in the British Museum because the old outdated catalogue, I have reason to believe, offers only an *expurgated* listing. As disclosed in a check of a MS. volume otherwise properly indexed, those poems which immediately appeared offensive to the compiler were excluded. It is not surprising, therefore, that while the Museum may have the transcripts, none are recorded for such scabrous material as that beginning in the 1680 editions on pages 28, 72, 73, 77, 80, 85, 92, and 146.

From the existing separate texts we may now reconstruct the copy for 97 of the 149 pages of text in the earlier 1680 editions, extract from this portion the 55 critical readings, and segregate these into categories suitable for discussion. No less than 36 are literal variants—alternative, additional, or deleted words affecting the sense or the scansion—in which the ten editions share to the following extent:

<i>Group</i> ³	<i>Number of readings</i>	<i>Total occurrence in texts</i>
<i>a</i> Edition PF alone	18	63
PF and some others		
<i>b</i> excluding HU sequence	10	28
<i>c</i> including HU sequence	2	5
<i>d</i> None: PF 1 variant, other eds. another	4	12
<i>e</i> All editions except PF	2	7

These statistics hardly require explanation. Closest to the texts in its substantive readings is PF, with a total concurrence (*abc*) of 96; at a greater distance certain other editions, with a total (*be*) of 35, deriving principally, however, from PF; and so far away as to be almost beyond recognition, the vaunted HU and its sequels, with a grand total (*ce*) of 12. In PF, then, as well as in the separate related texts, we are proximate to the unknown C, so near, in fact, that its distinctive features may be perceived in its immediate descendant. Whenever PF exhibits some idiosyncrasy the variant therefore demands the closest scrutiny. Certainly in *d*, where PF disagrees both with the separate texts and

³ Group *a* readings: 9.1, 20.14, 22.15, 22.16, 23.27, 24.32, 30.4, 30.5, 30.6, 30 title, 32 title, 33.11, 33.13, 41.10, 41.25, 48.13, 56 title, 93.17; group *b* 14.27, 15.4, 19.21, 20.10, 30.10, 42.27, 45.24, 58.13, 97.8, 144.10; group *c*: 131.18, 144.10; group *d*: 12.23, 14.5, 14.22, 21.7; group *e*: 12.28, 88.24. Not included in this collation are readings in which the separate texts, PF, HU, and a number of other editions preponderate against a chance variant in a late reprint. Such a calculation would not improve the relative standing of HU and, no matter how far extended, could not alter the fact that any unique connection between HU and the separate texts is nil.

the other editions, and even in *e*, where PF is unique, all except one (21.7) of the variants are quite acceptable.

But PF, though substantially the best recension, is not without its faults. Now and then it may alter *of* to *on*, *a* to *the*, *didst* to *did*, invert a phrase, or—in one instance—repeat a word used in the preceding line. In these trivialities, all attributable to the compositor, the editions agree with the separate texts as follows:

Group ⁴	Number	Occurrence
<i>f</i> Edition PF alone	1	1
<i>g</i> Texts and eds. divided with PF PRa supplying a 3d variant	4	24
All agree except		
<i>h</i> PF PRa HU F HA	1	4
<i>i</i> PF PRa	9	25
<i>j</i> PF alone	4	9

Considering that this collation omits all irrelevant readings (including countless misprints in the later editions), the record for PF is not discreditable. Through groups *f* and *g* we may, again, seriously regard all but one (124.24) of the variants. For the accidental variation in *hij*, however, the accepted theory of copy-text requires that the identical pointing of the MSS. shall prevail.

Further analysis of the groups just described suggests a reason for Mr. Thorpe's choice of HU over the other editions. Lacking a standard for any judgment as to the excellence or authority of the more significant readings—a standard provided by the earlier texts—he was forced to ignore those in groups *a* and *b*, and to dwell upon grammatical errors of the kind indicated in *i* and *j*, where, of course, a formal decision operates against PF. Even so, as Mr. Thorpe admits, PF benefited from "some edi-

⁴ Group *f* reading: 28.11; group *g* readings: 51.15, 53.17, 121.27, 124.24; group *h*: 111.12; group *i*: 14.3, 21.5, 27.10, 30.10, 90.5, 121.26, 124.14, 130.26, 144.13; group *j*: 17.12, 90.10, 113.7, 128.12. Other than those listed in this and the preceding note, the collation includes certain readings to illustrate comments in the check-list, and a few others which may be regarded as anomalies.

torial supervision," has peculiar to itself "thirty-four important readings" and, together with other editions, has twenty-eight more which, in his estimation, are superior to those in HU.⁵ Since Mr. Thorpe is not so explicit about the merits of HU and, indeed, refrains from citing a single statistic except in a comparison with the inferior F, these are surely remarkable concessions. Formally, then, HU may be in Mr. Thorpe's words "easily the best" of all editions, or at least the most regular, and in a few other undesignated particulars it may be slightly better, or at least better than the degenerate F; but textually it is certainly among the worst.

With the supremacy of PF established, our attention is again directed to stemma "B" and the succession of reprints. Though the sequence remains the same as in "A," both for the extant editions and for those necessarily postulated as the transmitters of variants not held by their copytexts, the altered course of this transmission requires further comment. To account for the initial interrelations in his own pattern, Mr. Thorpe identifies, in one line of his stemma, some 15 variants in F subsequently adopted by HA, 8 others in Y retained by HA and S; in the other line, 23 in X retained by its two derivatives, with PF introducing 34 of its own and PRa 20 others. Using these same figures, but in the context required for stemma "B," we determine that PF has 77 readings of which 34 are altered in X; in one of the lines below this another 20 in PRa; in the second line another 23 in HU.⁶ Within the sequence, or that portion so far described, it will thus be observed that textually—and as noted below the stemma, on typographical grounds as well—the editions fall into three classes: (I) edition PF alone, the *textus receptus* differing materially from any other; (II) editions [X] and PRa,

⁵ Thorpe, pp. xvi, xv, xxxviii note 49.

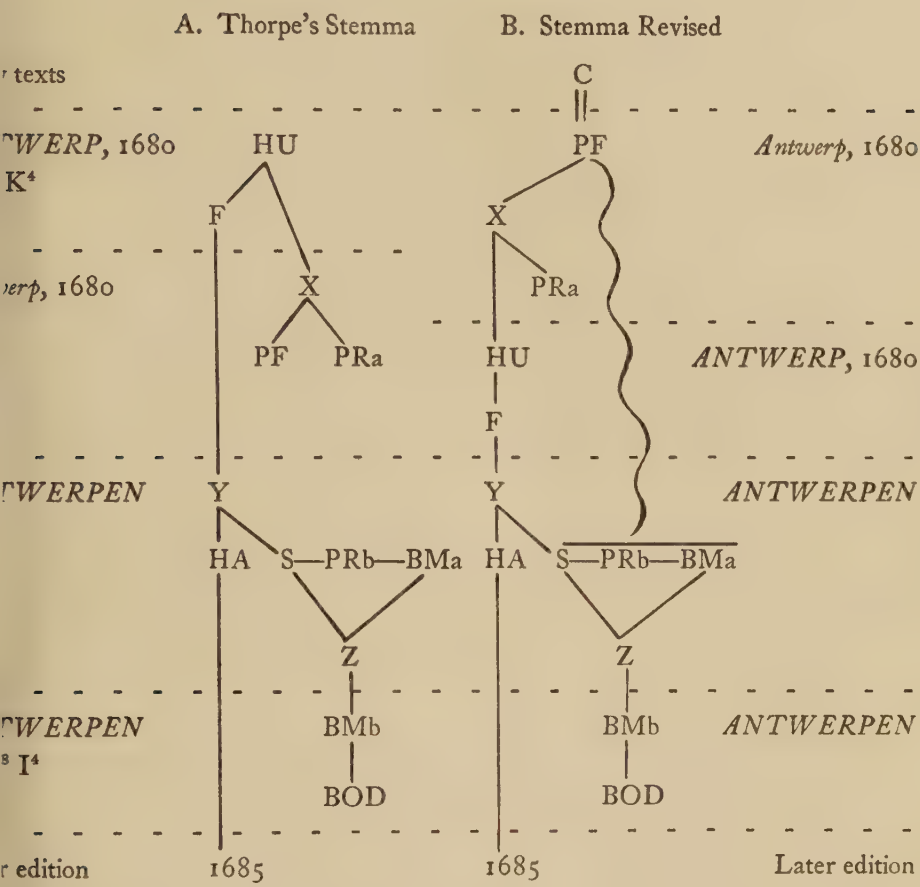
⁶ This therefore means that the 34 deviations Mr. Thorpe lists for PF (n. 11) are reversed and charged against X, the 23 in common for PF and PRa (n. 13) reversed against HU, and the 20 for PRa (n. 12) still retained.

corrupted by X but superior to all editions except PF; (III) editions HUF [Y] HA, also corrupted by X and showing a progressive textual deterioration.

Last, and deserving of special comment, is the series defined as of Class IV, comprising the six editions S PRb BMa [Z] BMb and BOD.⁷ What is not expected among these alterations, and inadequately explained by Thorpe (for one edition) as "accidental reversion," is a persistent reference back to PF for the correction of readings subsequently debased in III. So S returns for 15 readings, PRb for 7 more, and BMa for 2 beyond these;⁸ and of the 24 thus accumulated practically all are literal variants which could be acquired only by reference to an uncorrupted text. At the risk of over-complicating the stemma, I have accordingly employed a squiggle to signify this apparent consultation of PF by the press correctors of these three editions. To PF, then, by every conceivable standard—its immediate and exclusive relationship to the earlier texts, its distinctive readings apart from these texts, and its literal superiority as conceded in the edited reprints—must be granted an authority second only to the original MSS. from which it ultimately derives.

⁷ Thorpe notes 17, 18, 19-20, 23, 24.

⁸ In S the readings are 20.10, 29.19, 30.10, 36.14, 40.14, 43.23, 45.24, 48.5, 58.13, 83.32, 85.14, 95.24, 117.16, 133.15, 144.10; in PRb: 3.3, 14.27, 15.4, 19.21, 30.6, 41.25, 109.5; in BMa: 42.27, 134.15. Those not represented in my collation will be found in Thorpe, pp. 160-168.



Class	Symbol	Copies of edition, as located by Thorpe.
—	C	Original MS. copy, not extant.
I	PF	Pforzheimer.
II	X	Presumed edition.
	PRa	Princeton, John Hayward (London) [ex-Mills copy].
III	HU	Huntington, Pepysian Library (Magdalene College, Cambridge).
	F	Folger.
	Y	Presumed edition.
	HA	Harvard.

- IV S Sir Louis Sterling (London), Royal Library (Copenhagen).
 PRb Princeton.
 BMa British Museum.
 Z Presumed edition or mixed copy.
 BMb British Museum, Worcester College (Oxford), Royal Library (Copenhagen), John Hayward (London).
 BOD Bodleian Library, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Class	Title-page differentiae (Thorpe, pp. 154 ff.)			[Ornaments]	Variation
I	OCCASIONS	Honourable	E, R----	[3553]	III { HU: E. HA: R— [5
II	OCCASIONS	Honourable	E. R---	[5775]	
III	OCCASIONS	Honourable,	E R---	[55]	IV { S: E [5 BOD: R— [
IV	OCCASIONS:	Honourable,	E. R--	[444]	

Check-List of Separate Texts in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries

[An identical letter designates all manuscripts in the same volume; a letter within brackets, a volume recorded but not colated.]

Text pp. 6-13. Satyr [Rochester]

(1) Early version, followed by 1691 edition, with text concluding at 12.6, "Is only who's a Knave, of the first Rate?"

A1 *Satyr Against Mankind* [1679]. Wing R1759. 5 copies: 1 at BM, 4 at Bodley. Presumably the edition described by Wood as "printed in one sheet in fol. in June 1679."

[A2] Luttrell copy dated 30 Jan. 1679/80. This has been variously reported, by Hayward as a folio broadside printed in 1675, title and copy not designated; by Wing under R1751A as a cap. folio, *On man, a satyr* [1675?], copy at Harvard; and by Wing again under R1760 as a broadside, variant edition of *A satyr against mankind* [1675], copy at Oxford. All references should be subsumed under R1751A [but date 1680], of which there are two copies at Oxford [G. Pamph. 2228(61); Firth c.15(49)], one in the Roxburghe Collection [III, 837], and one now in the possession of John Hayward. The poem, consisting only of 11 couplets, is very probably by Alexander Radcliffe, who included it in his authoritative *The Ramble: an Anti-Heroick Poem*, 1682. (*teste* D. M. Vieth)

- B BM Sloane 1458, f. 16-18.
- C Bod Rawl. Poet. 81, f. 23a-26a
- D Bod Rawl. Poet. 123, pp. 110-115. Imperfect? Earlier version? Ends at 11.29, "The Knaves, will all agree to call you Knave." In the autograph of John Oldham.
- E Bod don. b 8, pp. 495-498
(2) Later version, followed by 1680 editions, with text concluding at 13.28, "Man differs more from Man, than Man from Beast." These supplementary lines are headed "Addition" in text F.
- F Bod Eng. Poet. e4, pp. 181-186
- G Bod Add. B106, f. 20b-25a. At 9.1 "Stillingfleet replies" is corrected to agree with general MS. reading "Sibbs soliloquies." The *incorrect* reading is introduced and followed in all 1680 editions subsequent to PF. (Mr. Hayward tells me his manuscript retains unaltered the variant reading "Stillingfleet's Replies.")
- H BM Add. MS. 14047, f. 130-127 (inverted)
- [I] Bod Tanner 306, f. 414-415b (not accessible)
- 14-19. A Ramble in St. James's Park
 - J BM Harley. 6057, f. 60. Defective, ends at 18.14.
 - [K] Bod Firth c. 15, p. 260. Widely divergent text in use by "The Rose Tavern Clubb 1687." Not collated.
- 19-27. A Letter fancy'd from Artemisa
 - (1) As in 1691 edition, contains four lines between 20.4 and 5.
 - L *Artemisa to Cloe*, 1679. Pages 5 and 8 misnumbered, 1st state 3 and 4, 2d state 3 and 6. Unrecorded in Wing. For an account of this edition see the forthcoming note by Laurence Hanson in the *Bodleian Library Record*, IV (1952). Bod. copies: Ashm 1094(2); Firth c.7(4).
 - D Bod Rawl. Poet. 123, pp. 108-109, 116-123. With frequent corrections in Oldham's hand.
 - E Bod don.b. 8, pp. 490-494. "This poem is supposed, to bee made by the Earle of Rochester [as generally attributed], or Mr. Wolseley."
(2) As in 1680 editions, the four lines are omitted.
 - M *A Letter from Artemisa* [1679], Wing R1750. Bod. Vet. A3.c.26(3)
 - N Bod North b.24, f. 60-61. Defective, ends at 25.2.
 - O Bod Rawl. Poet. 152, f. 50-57. In first line preceding texts read "in Verse by your command"; in this the reading "by your command in Verse" is corrected to earlier version; in *all* 1680 editions the reading is in its uncorrected state.
- 28-30. The Imperfect Enjoyment
 - G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 39a-40a

30-32. To Love

W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 48b-49a

32-34. The Maim'd Debauchee

E Bod don.b. 8, pp. 409-411. 12 stanzas.

F Bod Eng. Poet. e4, pp. 187-188. Tenth stanza omitted but space left for its insertion. A similar excision occurs in the 1691 edition.

C Bod Rawl. Poet. 81, f. 22a. This and text H omit stanzas 2 and 8-11.

H BM Add. MS. 14047, f. 130b. Not by Rochester but, according to this MS., "By my L^d Buckhurst."

40-44. An Allusion to Horace

Q BM Sloane 1504, f. 69-70a. On 70b, in the same hand, "Amsterdam. Oct. 8/79 Capt: Stead gave the copy."

R BM Sloane 655, f. 51

G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 5a-7a. A different version.

S BM Add. MS. 18220, f. 121-123

45-48. In defence of Satyr

G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 42b-44a

T Bod Rawl. Poet. 172, f. 108a.

U Bod Rawl. A341, f. 133v-135

V BM Egerton 2623, f. 87-88

E Bod don.b. 8, pp. 710-712

W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 135a-136b. Possibly derivative: see collation with later variants at 45.24, 48.13, and further note in entry for page 58.

[X] Bod Ballard, 50, f. 134. Defective, only 47 lines. Not collated.

49-50. On the suppos'd Author

Y2 *Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth, IV, 570-571. This citation, not in the original collection, appears to be taken from a derivative edition. See secondary readings in Thorpe collation at 49.4, 49.13.

50. The Answer

Y2 *Roxburghe Ballads*, IV, 571. Also, presumably, from a derivative text.

50-51. Seneca's Troas

E Bod don.b. 8, p. 498

51-54. Upon Nothing

(1) Third stanza, 2d line, "sole Original," the reading of 1680 eds.

Z *Upon Nothing* [1679, as dated by Luttrell]. Wing R1761. The University of Texas has two editions of this text, Mr. Hayward tells me, one at line 15 reading "Light," the other "Life."

G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 19b-20b

- W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 151b-152a
 (2) Reading "great Original."
- 2A BM Add. MS. 29497, f. 48
- 2B BM Add. MS. 30162, f. 1b
- 2C Bod Rawl. Poet. 90, f. 106a-107b
 (3) Stanza omitted.
- 2D BM Sloane 4457, f. 43. At end, in another hand, "This Autograph of the eminent Dr. John Nalson was given me by his son the Rev.^d & ingenious Mr. Val: Nalson Preb: of York 1710."
- E Bod don.b. 8, pp. 654-655
- [I] Bod Tanner 306, f. 410 (not accessible)
- 55-56. Song (In the Fields)
 E Bod don. b. 8, p. 586. Here attributed, not to Rochester, but "Sir Charles Sidley," and in the last four stanzas of a different version.
- 56-57. Upon his Drinking a Bowl
 G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 42
58. Song (As Cloris full of harmless thoughts)
 P BM Sloane 1009, f. 389b (inv.). A fragment, first eight lines only.
- Y1 Roxburghe Collection III. 138-139. Broadside titled *Corydon and Cloris* and imprinted "London, Printed for W. Thackeray, T. Passinger, and W. Whitwood." [1677] Not in Wing.
- 2E Bod *The Last and Best Edition of New Songs*, 1677. Wing L469. Begins "While Cloe, full of harmless thought" a better rhyme with "brought."
- [2F] *Choice Ayres & Songs*, 1679. Wing P2458.
- W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 71a. As in pages 45-48, this text agrees at 58.18 with later variants. A concurrence with PF, however, is noted at 138.13. Note: Mr. Hayward informs me that this song also appears in *The Wits' Academy* (1677) and *New Ayres and Dialogues* (1678).
59. Song (I Rise at Eleven)
 O Bod Rawl. Poet. 152, f. 89b
63. Song (Give me leave)
 2G *Songs for One Two and Three Voyces*, 1677, 1678, 1679. Wing B3885, 8286 (*sic*), 3887.
65. Song (Phillis, be gentler)
 2H BM Add. MS. 27408, f. 9b
65. Song (What cruel pains)
 W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 71b

68-69. Song (How happy Cloris)

- 2I *A New Collection of the Choicest Songs*, 1676. Wing N597. Not the source for the 1680 editions, but possibly the version used in the 1691 printing. Other texts, as Mr. Hayward advises me, are to be found in *The Last and Best Edition of New Songs* (1677) and *A New Help to Discourse* (1684).

69-70. Love and Life, a Song

- 2G *Songs for One . . .*, 1677-79
 2K *Songs Set by Signior Pietro Reggio*, 1680. Wing R754.
 2H BM Add. MS. 27408, f. 11b
 2C Bod Rawl. Poet. 90, f. 182b
 G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 45b

70-71. The Fall, a Song

- 2H BM Add. MS. 27408, f. 11. Titled "The Fall of Man."

71. Song (While on those lovely looks)

- 2I *A New Collection*
 2E *The Last and Best Edition*
 2H BM Add. MS. 27408, f. 11

72-74. Song (Room, room)

- 2E *The Last and Best Edition*
 W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 132b

74. Song (I cannot change)

- [2F] *Choice Ayres*
 2H BM Add. MS. 27408, f. 11b

76-77. Actus Primus Scena Prima

- G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 44b. Names altered. Runs through line 7 at foot of 44b and presumably continued on original 45, now excised.

88-89. On Mr. E[dward] H[oward]

- S BM Add. MS. 18220, f. 31. Dated "Sept. 6^o. 1669."
 2L Bod Rawl. D260, f. 30b-31. On flyleaf "Tho. Hearne / Sept. 1 CIO: DCC:IV"
 F Bod Eng. Poet. e4, p. 190
 2M BM Sloane 4455, f. 42b

89-90. On the same Author (As when a Bully)

- F Bod Eng. Poet. e4, p. 197. Previous accounts confuse the attribution. The initials signify not "E.R." [Earl of Rochester] but "E.A." [Edmund Ashton], whose authorship is confirmed by further evidence known to Mr. Vieth.

90-91. On the same Author (Thou damn'd Antipodes)

F Bod Eng. Poet. c4, pp. 188-189. Attributed to "Charles L. Buckhurst."

W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 126b-127a

92-97. The Disappointment

G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 40a-42a

111-114. A Session of the Poets

2N Bod Rawl. Poet. 159, f. 196-197b. Given as "1676," a year before the date generally assigned. All names indicated by initials are supplied.

W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 133b-135a

E Bod don.b. 8, pp. 586-588

2O BM Lansdowne 1039, f. 5. Derivative text? Date inscribed for preceding poem (4b) is "Mar. 16. 1692," and reading at 114.17 agrees with one in the later 1680 editions.

115-126. Satyr [Oldham]

D Bod Rawl. Poet. 123, pp. 3-16. Oldham's autograph copy, with corrections.

2P *A Satyr against Vertue*, 1679. Wing O243. BM copy 11602.ee.10(2). On pages 61-65 of Text D Oldham inveighs against this unauthorized publication in verses, titled "Upon a Bookseller y^t expos'd him by printing a Piece of his grosly mangled & faulty," and dated "Christmas 1680." Some of the mangling, especially at 115.11, 119.9, and 119.23, produces readings later adopted in editions PRb and BMa. In the BM copy of the *Satyr*, however, the reading "Morality" at 115.11 is corrected in ink to "Mortality."

H BM Add. MS. 14047, f. 116b-112 (inverted)

G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 34a-38a. On end paper, in same hand, "Anno Dne / 1681 / Aprilis 24th."

[2Q] Bod Rawl. D1480, pp. 203-209. Text often cited but of no interest, since it is admittedly "taken out of Oldham's *Works Book* the 3^d. Page 153."

127-129. An Apology to the fore-going Satyr

D Bod Rawl. Poet. 123, pp. 16-19

2P BM *A Satyr*, pp. 13-15

G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 38a-39a

129-131. Upon the Author of a Play call'd Sodom

D Bod Rawl. Poet. 123, pp. 82-86, 90-92, 98

G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 44

- 138-140. Ephelia to Bajazet
 W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 66b-67b
 V BM Egerton 2623, f. 78. As in the edition of 1707, the address in this MS. is altered to the second person.
 2R BM Add. MS. 28253, f. 158-159
- 140-142. A very Heroical Epistle in Answer
 Y *A Very Heroical Epistle*, 1679. Wing V279. Y1 (Roxburghe Collection) III, 819. Y2 (Ebsworth ed.) IV, 575-576.
 W Bod Rawl. Poet. 173, f. 67b-68a
 V BM Egerton 2623, f. 79
- 143-144. On Poet Ninny
 V BM Egerton, 2623, f. 80
- 144-145. My Lord All-Pride
 Y *A Very Heroical Epistle*. Y1: III, 819. Y2: IV, 576
 V BM Egerton 2623, f. 80b
151. On Rome's Pardons
 G Bod MS. Add. B106, f. 33b
 O Bod Rawl. Poet. 152, f. 115b
 2S Bod don.e. 23, f. 29b
 2T BM Sloane 1731A, f. 171

Collation of Variants

[Unless otherwise noted, all separate texts have first reading, all 1680 editions last reading. When a separate text is cited, it appears within parentheses. Rules divide the collation for each poem.]

No. of
texts

- 9 9.1 Sibb's Soliloquies PF] S—replies
- 4 12.23 close Bribes] sly Bribes PF] Aureal Bribes
 12.28 with his obstrep'rous *all eds. except:*] with PF
- 1 14.3 usually do *all except:*] do usually PF
 14.5 still lov'd] still care PF PRa] still take care
 14.22 *line omitted*] love-knot PF] lov'd fold HU F PRa S HA PRB BMa] Love Fold
 14.27 Chambermaids and PF PRb BMa BMb BOD] Chamber-Maids

- 15.4 Swive PF PRb BMa BMb BOD] strive
 17.12 of infamy *all except:*] on infamy PF
 6 19.21 Broke of PF PRb BMa BMb BOD] broke off
 20.10 'tis PF PRa S BMa BMb BOD] this is (D)] it is
 20.14 met last PF] writt last (O)] saw last
 20.17 shall I PRb BMa] shou'd I
 21.5 what yet *all except:*] yet what PF PRa
 21.7 who born] which born PF] though born
 22.15 fifty Antick PF] silly Antick
 22.16 Dear Madam PF] And Madam
 23.27 Monkey ty'd PF] Monkey ey'd
 24.32 in love PF] and love
 5 27.10 all's *all except:*] all PF PRa
 I 28.11 a pointed PF] the pointed
 30.4 Be through PF] Through
 30.5 may ease PF] relieves
 30.6 gates PF] Goats
 30.10 thou ne're PF S PRb BMa BMb BOD] thou
 30.10 didst refuse *all except:*] did refuse PF PRa
 I 30 *with subtitle* PF] *subtitle omitted*
 4 32 *title* disabled PF] *title omitted* (C H)] *title* Maim'd
 33.11 Forc'd from the PF] Forc'd from PRa] Drov'n from
 33.13 at least PF] *variant line* (C)] at last
 4 41.10 assembling PF] *variant line* (G S)] assembled
 41.25 Morosist PF] *word left blank* (S)] Moros HU F PRa S
 HA] Moroser
 41.27 in this *all except:*] herein (S) BOD
 42.27 blushes warm PF BMa BMb BOD] blushes worm
 6 45.24 a wretch PF S PRb BMa BMb BOD] the wretch (W)]
 wretch
 48.13 Gosnal PF] Gosnell (T U V E)] G—— (W)
 8 51.15 And . . . art *all except:*] *omitted* (Z)] And . . . are PF PRa
 53.17 they Reverend *all except:*] the Reverend (Z) BMa BMb
 BOD] thy Reverend PF PRa
 I 56 *title* drinking Bowl PF] drinking a Bowl
 3 58.13 Ah Youth PF S PRb BMa BMb BOD] Ah you
 58.18 fear he PF PRa HU F S HA PRb] fear she (W) BMa
 BMb] *omit* BOD

- 4 88.24 strange Alacrity *all except:*] great Alacrity PF
 1 90.5 heard or read *all except:*] read or heard PF PRa
 90.10 him down *all except:*] her down PF
 1 93.17 ungranted Beauties PF] unguarded Beauties
 97.8 But more PF S HA PRb BMa BMb BOD] But mere
 4 111.12 wear a S PRb BMa BMb BOD] wear the
 113.7 of a *all except:*] of the PF
 114.10 without PF PRa HU] with (2O)
 114.17 he had *all except:*] he (2O) S PRb BMa BMb BOD
 4 115.11 Mortality *all except:*] Morality (2P) PRb BMa
 119.9 who spite *all except:*] who in spite (2P) PRb BMa
 119.23 Beards] Birds (G) *and all except:*] Bards (2P) PRb BMa
 121.1 steam *all except:*] stream (H) S BMb BOD
 121.26 now no *all except:*] now to PF PRa
 121.27 Debauches S PRb BMa BMb] Debaucher (2P)] De-
 bauchers (G) PF PRa] Debauchees
 122.11 all that *all except:*] all the (H) BMb BOD
 124.14 think thy *all except:*] think the PF PRa] think they F
 124.17 Master, far'd PRb BMa] Master, fear'd (H)
 124.24 gain'd he *all except:*] gain'd the (G H)] gain'd her PF PRa
 3 128.7 the Audience *all except:*] their Audience (D) PRb BMa
 128.12 what they *all except:*] what thy PF
 2 130.26 least t'have *all except:*] least have PF PRa
 131.18 There bugger PF PRa HU] Threfore bugger F S HA
 BMb BOD] Then bugger
 3 138.13 so tender PF PRa] such tender (V 2R)
 139.13 melted away *all except:*] melting away (2R) PRb BMa
 2 144.10 to rake PF S PRb BMb BOD] to take
 144.13 nasty Meat *all except:*] nasty Meal PF PRa

The Woodcut Illustrations in the English Editions of *Mandeville's Travels*

By JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT

IN a recent issue of *The Library*,¹ Mr. Malcolm Letts undertook to establish the source of the illustrative woodcuts used in Wynkyn de Worde's first edition (1499) of *Mandeville's Travels* (STC 17247). He says, "With few exceptions, the woodcuts for de Worde's edition are taken from a German translation of the book by Martin Velser printed in Augsburg in 1482."² The source of these illustrations is of considerable interest, because they were copied and recopied, in the English editions of the *Travels*, until well into the eighteenth century. The copies printed by Thomas East in 1568 were reproduced by John Ashton in the nineteenth century,³ and by the Oxford University Press in our time.⁴ They are as much a part of the English *Mandeville* as the Tenniel illustrations are of Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*.

The German *translation* of the *Travels* which was printed in Augsburg in 1482 was made by Michel, not Martin, Velser. It was made about the end of the fourteenth century (the earliest

¹ "The Source of the Woodcuts in Wynkyn de Worde's Edition of *Mandeville's Travels*, 1499," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Fifth Series, VI (1951), 154-161.

² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

³ *The Voiage and Travayle of Sir John Maundeville, Knight*, edited, annotated, and illustrated in facsimile by John Ashton (London, 1887). Ashton describes the edition he is reproducing (East's) as "a reprint of Pynson's unique edition" (p. vi), a statement which has produced much confusion. Pynson's edition had no illustrations. East reprinted de Worde's edition.

⁴ *The Voiage and Trauaile*, etc., published by the Oxford University Press (Oxford, 1932), in a limited edition.

dated manuscript was written in 1408),⁵ and should not be confused with the *édition* printed at Augsburg in 1482 by Johann Schönsperger, as the colophon reports.⁶ Mr. Letts undoubtedly consulted the copy of this edition which is now in the British Museum.⁷ Unfortunately he did not have available there a copy of the earlier edition, published by Anton Sorg at Augsburg, on July 18, 1481.⁸ Reproductions of all 121 of Sorg's pictures are available, however, in Albert Schramm's monumental work on German incunabula illustrations.⁹

Schönsperger's edition of the *Travels* borrowed both its text and its pictures from Sorg's editions.¹⁰ The question therefore arises, did de Worde copy his pictures from the Sorg originals, or from Schönsperger's copies?

There are several reasons for thinking that de Worde's pictures were copied directly from Sorg's woodcuts, and not indirectly through Schönsperger. In the first place, every one of de Worde's seventy-two pictures has its counterpart in Sorg, whereas Mr. Letts marks seven of de Worde's pictures as "Not in Velser" (i.e., Schönsperger), and five others as "not copied." Twen-

⁵ Manuscript copies of Velser's translation are described by Albert Schoerner, *Die Deutschen Mandeville-Versionen: Handschriftliche Untersuchungen* (Lund, 1927). And see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 39 (Leipzig, 1895), p. 576.

⁶ *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum* (London, 1908-49), II, 364.

⁷ Grenville 6774. Other copies are recorded as at Munich and Regensburg.

⁸ A copy recently acquired by the Boston Public Library has been described by Zoltán Haraszti, "The Travels of Sir John Mandeville," *The Boston Public Library Quarterly*, II (1950), 306-316. A fragment in the Berlin Public Library (Berlin KB 123) is described by E. H. Voulliéme, *Die Inkunabeln der Königlichen Bibliothek und der anderen Berliner Sammlungen* (Leipzig, 1906). The copy presented to the Library of Congress by Lessing J. Rosenwald is the one from which Albert Schramm made his facsimiles (see next note). A copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library (no. 23215) has been most generously made available to me, as has also the Rosenwald copy. A copy is recorded at Besançon (no. 677), but the copies formerly at Maihingen and Wernigerode have been disposed of, and are probably to be identified with copies now in the United States.

⁹ *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, IV, "Die Drucke von Anton Sorg in Augsburg" (Leipzig, 1921), nos. 579-700.

¹⁰ W. L. Schreiber, *Manuel de l'Amateur de la Gravure sur bois et sur métal au XV^e Siècle* (Leipzig, 1910-11), V, pt. 2, no. 4800.

ty-three others are "From Velser [*sic*] with variations." The seven pictures not in Schönsperger, which are in Sorg,¹¹ would seem to establish Sorg as the source, but here we must take another fact into account. The copy of Schönsperger's edition in the British Museum lacks leaves 1 (blank), 20-22, 75, and 76, out of a total of 88 leaves. Of the seven missing pictures, two (nos. 13, 14) should occur at the point where leaves 20-22 are missing. The other five are widely scattered in Sorg (nos. 27 and 71 both occur on Sorg's fol. 18v, no. 44 on 52v, no. 53 on 54, and no. 69 on 60v). It is possible, but not probable, that all seven of these pictures occur on the five missing leaves. Lacking a detailed comparison of Sorg's and Schönsperger's woodcuts, all we can be sure of is that with two exceptions the missing pictures were not designed to illustrate the matter on the missing pages of Schönsperger's text.

There are other reasons for thinking that de Worde copied Sorg's pictures, and not Schönsperger's. Schönsperger's woodcuts usually reverse the picture as it appears in Sorg, according to Schreiber. That was usual, since a picture cut on a block just as it appears on the page, will be in reverse when the woodblock is printed. Therefore, if de Worde's artisan had been copying Schönsperger's pictures, his blocks would have printed Schönsperger's pictures in reverse. But that is not the case. Mr. Letts marks only eleven, out of a possible sixty, as "reversed" from Schönsperger's. On the other hand, de Worde's pictures, like Schönsperger's, usually reverse the order of figures or objects in Sorg's woodcuts.¹² It seems evident, therefore, that both copied directly from Sorg.

A further reason for thinking that de Worde's pictures were copied from Sorg's is that Sorg's were available in several edi-

¹¹ Mr. Letts' nos. 13, 14, 27, 44, 53, 69, and 71. These are Schramm's nos. 605, 606, 600, 642, 645, 659, 601.

¹² The order of the figures or objects, from left to right, is carefully noted in Edward Hodnett's excellent description of de Worde's pictures: *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535* (London, 1935), pp. 279-285.

tions, and were used to illustrate the French as well as the German text of the *Travels*. In fact, there is good reason to believe that what de Worde's artisan had before him was an edition of the *Travels* in French, printed at Lyons about 1490. He is known to have copied woodcuts from books printed at Lyons, but no other borrowing from a book printed at Augsburg has been recorded.¹³ Lyons is therefore the more probable source of the pictures.

Sorg printed at least two illustrated editions of the *Travels*. One exists only in an undated fragment,¹⁴ and the other is the edition dated July 18, 1481. By the end of 1482 his woodcuts had been acquired by Nicholas Philippi and Marcus Reinhart, two German printers who had settled at Lyons and who used the blocks to illustrate an edition of the French text of the *Travels*. This edition is undated, but is assigned to the year 1482. The only known copy is now in the library of the University of Liège (xv^e s. C 66). M. Polain, in his description of it,¹⁵ tells us only that it has woodcuts, but we know from other sources that the first leaf, now missing, contained the first of the Sorg illustrations, a full-page picture of a youth carrying a lance. A streamer over his head is marked, "Iohannes de Montevilla." This picture is mentioned by Crawford in his catalogue of June, 1887, and by Quaritch, who advertised this copy, identifiable by its missing leaves, in several catalogues.¹⁶ We know that almost all of the woodblocks were subsequently used at Lyons, and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that the other pictures in this 1482 edi-

¹³ H. R. Plomer, *Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries from the Death of Caxton to 1535* (London, 1925), and Hodnett, *op. cit.*, p. 9ff.

¹⁴ Schramm, IV, p. 11, argues that it is the earlier of the two editions. The fragment is in the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, and was formerly in the Franziskaner-Kloster.

¹⁵ M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des Livres Imprimés au Quinzième Siècle des Bibliothèques de Belgique* (Brussels, 1932), no. 2583.

¹⁶ *Catalogue* no. 375 (Aug. 25, 1887), and the *General Catalogue* (1887), pp. 4038-39, item 38418. The BMC, VIII, 241, dates the last book certainly from this partnership in December, 1482. The woodcut border used in the *Mandeville* was next used by Matthieu Huss in January, 1482/3; Polain, *op. cit.*

tion of the *Travels* in French were also printed from the Sorg blocks.

The Sorg frontispiece was used again, about 1487, in an edition produced by Nicholas Philippi and Jean du Pré. A unique copy of this edition is now in the Escolopier collection at Amiens (no. 5202).¹⁷ No other pictures are mentioned in descriptions of this edition; but the Sorg woodblocks were used again in Lyons, this time by Pierre Bouttellier, a German printer who originally called himself Peter Schenck, but who settled at Lyons, married a French woman, and translated his name.¹⁸ A *Mandeville* printed at Lyons by Pierre Bouttellier in 1487 is mentioned by the sixteenth-century French bibliographer Antoine Du Verdier,¹⁹ but no copy of this edition is now known. Another edition, undated and without mention of place or printer, but certainly produced at Lyons about 1490, has recently been assigned to Bouttellier's press. The unique copy of this edition is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.²⁰ It contains the Sorg frontispiece and 102 other impressions of the Sorg cuts.

These pictures are not copies, but are printed from the same blocks as the cuts in the Sorg edition. The blocks show signs of wear, but they were used again, 114 of them, in an edition printed at Lyons about 1508 by Claude Nourry. The only known copy of that edition, lately in the salesroom of H. P. Kraus in New York, is now in the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library.²¹

¹⁷ Title page and frontispiece are reproduced in A. Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XVe et XVIe Siècle*, III (Paris, 1904), 149, 150; the type identified, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁸ BMC, VIII, lvi ff. and p. 286.

¹⁹ Antoine Du Verdier, *La bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier ... Contenant le Catalogue de tous ceux qui ont écrit, ou traduit en françois ...* (Lyon, 1585).

²⁰ No. 610. It is assigned to Bouttellier in BMC, VIII, lviii. Quaritch described it, very incorrectly, in his *Rough List*, no. 82, dated Jan. 15, 1883, no. 62. See also his Catalogue no. 389, item 2558, where he attributed it to Philippi and Reinhart circa 1485; and *General Catalogue*, pp. 1365, 2516, 2852, and 3811.

²¹ It is the Fairfax Murray copy, described in Hugh W. Davies, *Catalogue of a Collection of Early French Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1910), No. 350. Title page and four woodcuts are reproduced by Davies.

De Worde copied woodcuts from other books printed at Lyons. Hodnett identifies some of the cuts in his *Vitas Patrum* (1495) as copied from a similar work published by Philippi and Du Pré at Lyons, January 15, 1486/87.²² Lyons is therefore a more probable source than Augsburg for the *Mandeville* illustrations published in 1499. Moreover, there is some further evidence that the French, and not the German, edition illustrated by Sorg's woodcuts was de Worde's source. The Bouttellier (*ca.* 1490) edition of the *Travels* omits eighteen of Sorg's woodcuts, and none of these eighteen pictures appear in de Worde's edition. These are scattered pictures, Schramm's numbers 585, 586, 599, 616, 634, 646, 657, 658, 660, 682-689, 694. It will be observed that, with the exception of one series of eight pictures, and two other pairs, these are scattered through the text. It is unlikely that independent selection would produce the omission of exactly the same cuts, especially since such interesting pictures as the one of the tree that bears vegetable lambs is among them. Moreover, in one striking instance, the two editions not only make the same omissions, but make the same rearrangement. Among the early pictures in Sorg are two of beehive-shaped mountains, reproduced by Schramm as numbers 585 and 586. These the Lyons edition omits, substituting one much later picture of a shelving rock formation, Schramm's number 681. De Worde makes this same substitution in his fifth picture, that is, at the same point in his book.²³

From the identity of the omissions, and from the substitution I have described, it seems evident that de Worde's source was the

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

²³ Schramm's numbers for the pictures copied by de Worde are as follows: 581-4, 681, 587-93, 605-6, 608-12, 614-15, 617-21, 600, 645 [Letts 28, not in Hodnett], 623-25, 629-33, 635-44, 647-52, 645, 653, 661 [Letts 55, not in Hodnett], 655, 662, 656, 663-72, 659, 675, 601, 692. Both the Lyons edition and de Worde's show rearrangement of the pictures in the latter part of the text, i.e., Bouttellier does not follow Sorg's order (as indicated by Schramm's numbers), nor does de Worde follow exactly the order of either of the other two. However, all three follow the same order for the early pictures, except for the substitution mentioned, and the omissions.

Lyons edition of the *Travels*, with the Sorg woodcuts and the French text, rather than either Sorg's or Schönsperger's edition with the German text. The matter is of some importance for the history of early printing in England, and of some literary interest as evidence that the French *Mandeville* was available in London in 1499.

Mr. Letts describes the printer of the German edition of 1482 as an "obscure artist working at Augsburg." But Anton Sorg was a very prolific and widely known illustrator. Schramm devoted an entire volume to his work alone. Schreiber says of his designs for the *Travels*, "Elles sont dessinées à la légère, mais par un maître assez habile, gravées également avec soin, de sorte que ce volume occupe une place importante parmi les imprimés augsbourgeois de cette période."²⁴ The simplicity and vigor of the little pictures enticed buyers not only in Germany, France, and England, but also in Spain, as Mr. Letts observes. The sixteenth-century editions of the *Travels* in Spanish, printed at Valencia by Jorge Costilla, were illustrated with a profusion of woodcuts in several styles.²⁵ Many of these pictures are copies of Sorg's. Some of the others appear to have been designed for religious works and are in a very different style.

Sorg illustrated with equal enthusiasm buildings, mountains, trees, people and animals, but he evidently delighted in drawing nudes, and shows considerable skill in representing figures in motion. His attempts at perspective are crude, but his lines are firm and true. He uses little shading and does not attempt to give the pictures depth. The pictures, as Schreiber says, are art-

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*, note 10.

²⁵ Mr. Letts notices the similarity of the hermaphrodites in de Worde's edition and in the Spanish edition of 1521, a copy of which is in the British Museum. He is not aware of the origin of this and several other of Costilla's cuts. An edition of the *Travels* reported by Barcia as printed at Valencia in 1515 is doubtful. No copy is known. But editions by Costilla in 1521, 1524, and 1531 are known. A copy of the last edition is in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, in New York. It has 123 pictures, including several repetitions, but not counting the eight on the title page which are repeated in their proper place in the text.

less in design and in choice of subject, but they have style and exhibit a skill which contrasts with the poor drawing and stiff, simplified lines of de Worde's best woodcutter.

De Worde simplified not only the pictures, but the problem of fitting them into his text. All of his woodcuts are the width of the printed page (about 83 mm.), while Sorg's blocks are mostly 76 x 79 mm. or slightly larger, and have a narrow column of type beside them to fill out the width of the page.²⁶

De Worde reprinted the *Travels* in 1503 (STC 17249),²⁷ and again about 1510 (STC 17248, where the edition is dated "1501?"), but Hodnett and later bibliographers assign it to the later date).²⁸ Only two leaves of this last edition are known. The next edition of the English *Travels* which has been recorded was printed by Thomas East in 1568 (STC 17250). That edition has seventy-five illustrations, copied from de Worde's, and mostly reversed. They are inferior to de Worde's, and the total number of pictures is eked out by printing eight pictures twice, a situation which suggests that East was making use of an incomplete set of old blocks. The condition of the blocks, most of which have broken borders, missing corners, wormholes and other indications of previous use, strongly suggests that East was not printing from blocks newly copied from de Worde's, but that he was making use of blocks cut for some intermediate edition, all copies of which have now been lost.

East printed another edition in 1582 (STC 17251), from dif-

²⁶ Hodnett gives the exact size of each of de Worde's pictures. Sorg's type-page is 122 mm. wide.

²⁷ A fragment preserved in the Bodleian, Douce frag. e. 8, is the only copy known to the editors of the STC, but Herbert, in his edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, described a complete copy in the possession of W. Baynton as having 75 woodcuts and a woodcut map. Nichols, in 1740, saw a copy belonging to the Rev. Francis Peck. At Sotheby's sale of 25 November 1952 a more complete copy (94 of the 108 leaves) was advertised. It lacks sigs. B, I, and N3-4 (the Bodley fragment has all of sig. N).

²⁸ I am indebted to Mr. William A. Jackson of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, for confirmation of the later date. See Hodnett, p. 15.

ferent type and with seventeen recut pictures still in the Sorg tradition.²⁹ In June 1609, East's widow assigned her copyrights to Thomas Snodham,³⁰ who reprinted East's second edition in 1612 (not in STC). A unique copy of this edition is now in the Library of Congress. I have compared it with the East edition of 1582 in the Folger Shakespeare Library, and find that Snodham's is a page-for-page reprint of East's, with the same pictures, except for two recut and reversed, and four from East's 1568 series.

Snodham printed at least two more editions, one in 1618 (STC 17252), which has frequently been assigned to Thomas Stansby,³¹ and one in 1625 (STC 17253), which reprints the same blocks as 1612 except for a dozen which have been recut and five from the 1568 series. On February 23, 1625/26, Snodham's widow assigned all her copyrights to William Stansby,³² who printed an edition of the *Travels* in 1632 (not in STC). The unique copy of this edition is now in the Yale University Library (Ecd 322 gk). It has seventy-two new cuts of the traditional subjects, in a different but no better style.

The next owner of the copyright was Richard Bishop, who bought out William Stansby in 1634,³³ and acquired copyrights from his widow on March 4, 1639.³⁴ About 1640 he printed an

²⁹ Several of the pictures printed by East in 1568 appear reversed in the 1582 edition. These are the pictures on the following pages in Ashton's reprint: 22, 81, 108, 124, 140, 141, second picture, 143, 152. The picture of Samson, Ashton's p. 32, is copied from de Worde, and not from the 1568 edition. The picture on p. 45 is omitted, as is that on p. 136. On the other hand, the picture on Ashton's p. 124, repeated on 134, is repeated a third time in 1582.

³⁰ Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (London, 1876), III, 413.

³¹ The title-page is defective and all authorities followed Brunet in assigning this edition to "T. Stansby" before the publication of the STC. The Britwell Court copy of the edition of 1625 is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

³² *Stationers' Register*, IV, 152.

³³ H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1641-1667* (London, 1907), p. 25.

³⁴ *Stationers' Register*, IV, 458-459.

edition (STC 17254) using Stansby's new cuts as far as signature L. Thereafter new and old woodcuts are intermixed, but all are in the Sorg tradition.⁸⁵

Bishop printed until 1653, and therefore is undoubtedly the "R.B." who printed the *Travels* "for E. Dod & N. Ekins" in 1650 (Wing M412). He is assumed to have ceased printing in 1653,⁸⁶ but an edition of the *Travels* dated 1657 is "By R.B. and are to sold [*sic*] by A. Crooke" (Wing M413). The next recorded edition, dated 1670, is described as "For A. Crooke" (Wing M414). In 1677 an edition was printed "For B. Tooke," apprentice of J. Crooke (the brother of A. Crooke), not in Wing. Part of this same edition is "For R. Scott, T. Basset, J. Wright, and R. Chiswell" (Wing M415). Another edition, still with the traditional woodcuts, describes itself as for the same four booksellers in 1684 (Wing M416). It is still in the traditional Black Letter, and Brunet calls it a reprint of 1568. In 1696 the *Travels* (Wing M417) was printed again "For Rich. Chiswell, B. Walford, Mat. Wotton, and Geo. Conyers," with seventy woodcuts, recut, but closely imitated from Bishop's. This is a quarto, as is the edition of 1704[1705 variant?] printed for Chiswell, etc. But Quaritch records an undated edition, which he assigns to "ca. 1700" for sale at "Southwark and London Bridge" which is in duodecimo, with "rude woodcuts."⁸⁷ Another undated edition, a quarto of which a copy is in the British Museum [10056 c], is assigned to about 1710.

In 1722, A. Wilde printed an edition for G. Conyers in Little-Britain, T. Norris at London-Bridge, and A. Bettsworth in Paternoster-Row. It has 132 numbered pages, followed by a table of 109 chapters, ending in the middle of R₄ verso. The lower half of the page has a vignette and the word "Finis." It has sixty-nine pictures, still in the Sorg tradition (after more

⁸⁵ Copy in the Folger.

⁸⁶ Plomer, *Dict.* (1641-1667), p. 25.

⁸⁷ B. Quaritch, *General Catalogue* (1887), 784, 2852.

than two centuries), although the pictures have more shading than Sorg's, and there are fewer nudes.

The publication of the complete text of the *Travels* in 1725, from the Cotton manuscript, had a profound effect on the popular tradition. The edition of 1725 (reprinted in 1727) had no pictures, but after its appearance the degeneration of the short, popular, illustrated edition was rapid. It was printed "For J. Osborne and J. Hodges" and "For J. Osborne and J. Harris,"³⁸ in editions which, obviously in imitation of that of 1725, claimed to be "Faithfully Collected from the Original Manuscript, and Illustrated with Variety of Pictures." But the second has only ten pictures besides the frontispiece. All are imitated from those in the 1722 edition. They were probably cut for an edition which had larger pages where they could be set crosswise of the text, but they are much too wide for this edition, and all are set on end. The text ends with chapter 77, and earlier chapters are omitted (as 8, 10, 14, 15, etc.). The little chapbook printed in Aldermay Church Yard about 1750 has shrunk to seven pictures and eight chapters.³⁹ Another, of about 1780, is the same size. One issued in Bow Church Yard about 1785 is described as having twenty-four small pages.

In effect the edition of 1722 was the last to appear in the tradition of Wynkyn de Worde's text and Anton Sorg's illustrations. A century later Dibdin described it as having "wretched woodcuts," and reports that it "sold for £1 9s. at the Towneley sale."⁴⁰

³⁸ Copy in the Columbia University Library.

³⁹ Reproduced by J. Ashton, *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1882), pp. 405-416. Ashton shows only the picture on the title-page, but a copy in the New York Public Library has six other woodcuts, none from the traditional series, and slight textual variations from Ashton's text. Copies noticed also in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* (1881-1900), and the *Catalogue of English and American Chap-Books and Broadside Ballads in Harvard College Library*, editor W. Coolidge Lane (Cambridge, Mass., 1905), no. 92.

⁴⁰ T. F. Dibdin, *Library Companion*, 2d ed. (London, 1825), pp. 416-417, note.

Bibliographical Notes

The Printer of a 1641 Suckling Pamphlet

The imprint on a 1641 pamphlet by Sir John Suckling (Wing S6123) reads "Printed in the yeare, 1641." Wing cautiously and properly enters this as "[London?]." The second and fourth lines of the title page, however, furnish not only confirmation of the presumptive place of printing, but also serve as an indication of the printer. The two lines are, within the limits of press changes, identical with the second and fourth lines of another Suckling pamphlet of the same year (Wing S6124), bearing the imprint "London Printed by *John Dawson* for *Thomas Walkley*, 1641." The twelve letters in the two lines all correspond in fount and size, and more than half of the characters in each line may be positively identified as the same cast. Only one of the letters (last E in LETTER) can be said to be of a different cast.

Similarities of shop practice between the two pamphlets are apparent. S6123 is in 115 Roman, S6124 in 80 Roman; yet in both the measure is 81 mm. The headlines in both are not only top-centered page numerals between parentheses, but in spite of the disparate text fount sizes, are of identical fount size Arabic numerals. The text end in each is tapered and is followed by a "Finis" in the same italic fount. Although the paper stocks differ (S6123 post and grapes and pot, S6124 grape cluster), indicating a possible time lapse between impositions, the gutters are all 36/5 mm. The title page ornaments, though different, are of the same height and kind and are placed in the same manner.

Wing S6123 may, in short, be put down with confidence as "[London, by John Dawson,] 1641."

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Three Notes on Fielding

1. *An Apology for the Life of Mr. T[heophilus]. C[ibber]*. 1740.
Octavo: a⁴ B-K⁸.

This burlesque biography usually attributed to Henry Fielding exists

in two previously undifferentiated editions, both so hurriedly prepared, it would seem, that the necessary proofing of references was not completed until the advent of the second edition, when the corrections were immediately overrun by a welter of misprints in the text. A further indication of haste and carelessness in the reprinting is found in the use of a considerable amount of standing type, not at the end, where it would be expected in any orderly work, but scattered here and there throughout the book.¹ Typical revisions and errors provide ready points of distinction.

	<i>Edition A</i>	<i>Edition B</i>	<i>Category</i>
Page 22, note	<i>Ditto.</i>	<i>Ditto</i> , p. 33	Correction
Pagination	26, 27, 28, 29	28, 29, 26, 27	Misprint
Page 46, line 37	Mountford	Mounford	M
49, line 40	chose him to	chose to	M
49, note	Apology, p. 56	Apology, p. 82	C
53, line 41	Mithridates	Mithradates	M
64, line 32	<i>Powell</i> †	<i>Powel</i> *	M
66, note	Apology.	[1] Apology, p.	C
		[2] Apology, p. 151	C

Among the pages cited 66, the only one of the same type in both editions, affords a clear instance of several attempted improvements, and the resulting variants therefrom.²

2. *A Dialogue between a Gentleman of London . . . and an Honest Alderman of the Country Party*. 1747.

Octavo in fours: A² B-M⁴ N².

That the *Dialogue* was also rushed through the press is confirmed by two pieces of evidence, one a matter of record, one hitherto unrecognized. The first occurs as an entry in William Strahan's accountbook for drink money, an unusual expense allowed only when the pressmen were required to work overtime.³ The second appears in the last two pages of the book, where the errata have been entered in such a manner as to produce four different states.

¹ Pages apparently of identical setting in both editions: i-viii, 44-45, 50-51, 63, 65-82, 85-86, 97-144. The type for these pages is noticeably worn and broken in the later edition.

² Copies examined of edition "A": ICU, IU, MH (2), NN; edition "B" first state page 66: ICN, MH (2), NN; second state: CtY, NjP. The final line of the title page, reading "[Price Two Shillings.]," has been scraped off in the ICN copy.

³ J. Paul de Castro, "The Printing of Fielding's Works," *The Library*, 4 ser., I (1921), 261.

<i>State</i>	Page 91 (below text)	Page [92] (originally blank)	<i>Copies</i>
<i>a</i>	blank	blank	CtY, MH
<i>b</i>	2 errata	blank	MH
<i>c</i>	blank	5 errata	ICN
<i>d</i>	2 errata	5 errata	CtY

These variants, all resulting from half-sheet imposition of the final sheet ($A^2 + N^2$), involve several adjustments to accommodate two separate lists of corrigenda hastily dispatched, one after the other, to the printing office. When the first list was received (with errata for pages 32 and 33), the printing was discontinued, a slug of type prepared, entered in the inner section of the forme at the foot of page 91, and the remainder of the impression run off on the forme in this "corrected" state. After all paper had been printed, turned over, and a certain number of the original "uncorrected" sheets perfected on this same forme,⁴ the work was again interrupted, the slug transferred to page 92 in the outer section of the forme, and the letterpress for three additional errata (for pages 60, 72, and 86) subtended to it. All of the uncorrected sheets perfected before this second adjustment thus register pairs of copies in states *a* and *b*; all of those perfected afterwards, pairs in *a* and *c*; and all of the originally corrected sheets perfected after these, pairs in *a* and *d*.

Whatever the proportions of full sheets in the several conditions here described, it will be observed that, when sected by the binder, the *a* copies must preponderate. The variants I have seen therefore roughly correspond to the ratio which existed at the time of publication.

3. *Amelia*. 1752.

Duodecimo. I: $A^6 B-N^{12}$ ($-N_{12}$). II: $A^4 B-M^{12}$. III: $A^4 X_1 B-O^{12} P^6$. IV: $A^4 B-N^{12} O^4$.

The accepted account of the publication of Fielding's last novel appears to be so well authenticated that any questioning of the facts—or what pass as facts—might be justly regarded as impertinent. As summarized in Wilbur Cross's biography,⁵ the testimony is extensive and remarkably consistent: first and most important there is, purportedly, the January 1752 entry in Strahan's ledger of the printing; then, a few months later, cer-

⁴ The second adjustment must come before the perfection of the corrected sheets; otherwise only states *a*, *b*, and *d* would result.

⁵ *The History of Henry Fielding* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918), II, 304-309, 348; III, 321-322. For the most recent espousal of this theory see F. H. Dudden, *Henry Fielding* (London, Oxford University Press, 1952), II, 798.

tain apposite remarks in a pamphlet attributed to Dr. John Kennedy; some years later, a reference in Wraxall's *Historical Memoirs* (1772); several years after that, a reported conversation between Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Piozzi; and finally, in the next generation, a passage in Sir Walter Scott's life of Fielding. All of these, though varying in detail, provide for Cross abundant evidence of two "editions": the first in 5,000 copies published on December 18, 1751, and immediately sold out, perhaps by the end of the first day (*vide* Johnson), certainly by the end of a week (*vide* Cross); the second in 3,000 copies, prepared shortly thereafter, and held for infrequent sales prior to the issuance of the collected *Works* in 1762.

Despite these numerous reports and the plausible inference deriving from them, the second edition has thus far escaped identification. For many years the booksellers have thumbed the pages looking for it, only to discover a few piddling variants. While some of these are confidently advanced as points of differentiation, en masse they point to nothing but a random group of states.⁶ More persuasive, but no more acceptable, is Cross's opinion that the edition previously described as the "second" is merely an indistinguishable reimpression of the first. Against this assumption, indeed against the whole tradition, are the press figures which, with two slight exceptions,⁷ remain fixed and invariable in all the copies I have examined. Should these figures be the same in all other extant copies—a matter easily decided by reference to the Table—the conclusion fol-

⁶ In the following tabulation it is evident that no one exemplar has priority over any other.

Library:		CTY—	DLC	ICN	ICU	MH—			NN (Berg)—				
Ref.	Variant Copies:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
I.22	page no.		x	x	x								
	[lacks]	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
I.38	page no.	x							x		x	x	
	[lacks]		x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x
II.1	(at foot)												
	Vol. II.	x								x	x	x	
	[lacks]		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x
II.52	(catchword)												
	to _s	x			x	x			x	x		x	
	to ^s		x	x			x	x			x		x
II.137	(catchword)												
	'was			x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x
	'wa	x							x	x			

At I.95, line 22, the phrase "beat all to pieces," though said to exist in an earlier state reading "beat all the pieces," is invariably correct in these copies.

⁷ Figure 2, normally at I.133, is at 132 in copy 3; and figure 3, normally at II.109, is at 108 in copies 1, 8, and 11. As illustrated in numerous other works, this shift to an adjoining page within the same forme probably signifies only a momentary break in the impression.

Register of Press Figures in *Amelia*
(page-figure)

Sig.	Volume I		Volume II		Volume III		Volume IV	
B	12-4	22-3	4-3	23-1	10-2	—	14-2	24-3
C	26-3	48-4	37-3	47-1	36-2	46-3	45-2	46-3
D	58-2	72-4	50-1	60-3	50-3	72-4	61-4	71-3
E	82-4	85-3	93-1	95-1	74-4	84-3	74-3	96-2
F	106-2	*117-4	*109-3	119-1	100-3	111-2	98-2	100-3
G	133-2	142-4	122-3	124-2	122-1	133-4	133-4	143-2
H	167-2	—	165-1	166-3	159-2	168-3	148-2	154-3
I	178-1	181-3	189-3	190-1	172-4	183-1	178-3	184-4
K	202-2	208-4	208-3	214-1	202-2	204-3	205-2	215-3
L	238-2	240-1	239-1	240-3	218-4	240-1	220-2	239-2
M	262-6	264-4	255-2	261-1	—	—	244-3	263-4
N	266-4	276-1			277-2	287-6	286-3	288-3
O					298-3	300-2	290-2	293-3
P					318-6	320-4		

[*See fn. 7 on variant position]

lows that the book exists as a single impression of 5,000 copies and its "second edition" is a venerable ghost. The extraordinary prestige that comes from reports and descriptions over the last 200 years is not enough to confirm its presence. Unless the edition displays its own set of figures it has no substance—and nary a sheet to its name.

For those who believe in ghosts, and therefore reject the figures as unreliable witnesses, a further explanation is required. Only the ledger, it may be admitted, offers an objective account of the business in the printing office; all other versions, not excluding the one by Dr. Johnson, can be dismissed as rumor induced by the publisher and compounded by those gullible enough to believe him. And Strahan's ledger, as we now discover, has been misquoted. In the form cited by Cross it reads:⁸

Dec. 1751. *Amelia*, vols. I. and III., 26½ sheets, no. 5000.

Extraordinary corrections in do. £1 5s. od.

Jan. 1752. *Amelia*, 2nd ed. [?] sheets, no. 3000.

After Cross had published his biography, however, the correspondent who had offered the earlier report took another look at the record and amended the transcript to read:⁹

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 304. Previously cited by de Castro in *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., III (November, 1917), 466.

⁹ De Castro, "The Printing of Fielding's Works," *op. cit.*, p. 266.

December 1751. Amelia vol. I & III, 26½ sheets, no. 5000 @ £3 per sheet	£79: 10: 0
Extraordinary corrections in Ditto	£1: 5: 0
Jan. 1752. Amelia 2nd ed. 2 sheets, no. 3000	£4: 0: 0
Composing 60 pages more of Do.	£4: 10: 0

It would seem, then, that for the portion of the work assigned to Strahan, only two sheets were reset¹⁰ and reprinted—or, if we include the last item, 4½ sheets—but, again, unless these are revealed by the figures we may doubt that they were ever put to use. Very probably these several sheets represent an abortive start on a new edition, begun in the confidence that the publisher's stratagems would quickly deplete the stock of the original one, and abandoned when a lagging sale convinced him that 5,000 copies would suffice.¹¹ Not until a decade had passed was another edition required, and then only to complete the collected *Works*.

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An Additional Note on "The Card-board Box"

In the course of checking a forthcoming twenty-year (1931-1951) general index to the PAPERS, the writer arrived at a Bibliographical Note by Mr. David A. Randall on the omission of a Sherlock Holmes story, "The Adventure of the Card-board Box," from the second collection of the short stories, titled *The Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1894). The Note (34 [1940], 190-191) includes a surprising number of inaccuracies.

"The first edition is a book of considerable importance," writes Mr. Randall, "as it contains the first printing in book form of The Cardboard

¹⁰ If it cost £3 to compose and print 5,000 copies of each sheet of the first edition, £2 is not an unreasonable figure for each sheet of the "second." The charge for composition, however, as cited in the next entry, appears to be excessive unless this too includes presswork.

¹¹ Alternatively, should a copy appear with these odd sheets, the assumption would be that they were run off to fill a considerable shortage in the count for the original impression and (less the exception noted) eventually assigned with other remainders to the pulp mill in 1762. In that event our estimate of the popularity of the work would be more drastically revised. Instead of 5,000 copies sold immediately after publication, and immediately supplemented by 3,000 others, as Cross suggests, or 5,000 sufficient for a decade, as I contend, we would then have 5,000, approximately half of which never left the warehouse.

[sic] Box, which was omitted from the English edition of the *Memoirs* and was not issued again in either country until 1917 when it turned up in *The Case Book* [sic]. Doyle tells in his autobiography [*Memories and Adventures*] that he refused to print *The Cardboard* [sic] Box in the *Memoirs* (it first appeared in *The Strand Magazine*, January, 1893), because he came to regard it as an affront to pure womanhood and felt that Holmes' illusion [sic] to the misdemeanours of the lady might lead someone astray."

The Case Book of Sherlock Holmes was published in 1927, not 1917, and did not contain "The Card-board Box," which had appeared ten years before in *His Last Bow; a Reminiscence of Sherlock Holmes* (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1917). The reference to Holmes's "illusion" is a palpable misprint. Holmes contended that he *had* no illusions about women.

Incidentally, "The Adventure of the Cardboard Box" is restored (minus hyphen) to its proper place in the canon, in the recent Limited Editions and Heritage Press editions of *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* edited by Edgar W. Smith.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

Book Reviews

SADLEIR, MICHAEL. *XIX Century Fiction: a Bibliographical Record Based on His Own Collection*. In Two Volumes. Printed at the University Press, Cambridge, and Published in Great Britain by Constable & Co. Ltd.; in the U.S.A. by the University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, [1951]. xxxiv + 399; viii + 195 pp. 11 x 8¼ inches. £12 12s. and \$36. Edition limited to 1,000 copies for sale of which 500 are for U.S.A.

Mr. Michael Sadleir ranks high among twentieth-century book collectors. Many of his rivals have longer purses (though he has always known how to make a lavish gesture, when the occasion warranted), but none of them surpasses him in intelligence, literary flair, and fidelity to carefully worked out principles. In the delightful "Passages from the Autobiography of a Bibliomaniac" which serve as an introduction to this catalogue, these qualities are abundantly illustrated. From the first he has had "a penchant for group-collecting, that is to say, for seeking out the first editions of authors who belong to one movement, and adding to them the manifestoes, pamphlets, and ephemeral periodicals which, in larger or smaller numbers, are produced by every movement." (I, xi) Thus his collecting has never been the mere accumulation which sometimes results from the acquisitive itch; it has always had direction; and it has generally led to useful or entertaining publication.

Mr. Sadleir's initial collecting passion was for the French symbolists and decadent writers and for first editions of modern English authors. The influence of this enthusiasm may be seen in his early novels. Tiring of the aesthetic movement and its aftermath, he turned at the end of the first World War to certain Victorian novelists: Wilkie Collins, Disraeli, Mrs. Gaskell, Marryat, Melville (an American interloper), Reade, Whyte-Melville—and, above all, Anthony Trollope, to whom he added, in accordance with the principles of group-collecting, the other writing Trollopes. Three books resulted from this collecting interest: *Excursions in Victorian Bibliography* (1922), *Trollope: a Commentary* (1927), and *Trollope: a Bibliography* (1928). Meanwhile, he had begun his pursuit of Gothic romances in 1922. Most of the bibliographical or literary uses to

which he might have put these books had been anticipated by other writers before he sold the collection to the University of Virginia. In consequence there came from this phase of his activities only a paper for the English Association on the "Northanger Novels" (1927) and a brilliant letter to the *Times Literary Supplement* (11 August 1927) on "Melodrama in Fiction"—a contribution far more enlightening, it may be mentioned, than the article by T. S. Eliot on "Wilkie Collins and Charles Dickens" which inspired it.

In 1927 Mr. Sadleir embarked upon the major enterprise of his bibliophilic life, the general collection of nineteenth-century English fiction described in the catalogue under review. This was his principal preoccupation for more than twenty years. From the "Silver Fork" novels in which the collection is particularly strong came much of the material for two books, the first section of the never-completed *Bulwer: a Panorama* (1931) and *Blessington-D'Orsay* (1933). The collection also provided most of the data for two other volumes, *The Evolution of Publishers' Binding Styles 1770-1900* (1930), and *Things Past* (1944), a series of essays dealing chiefly with Victorian novelists. Concurrently with his pursuit of nineteenth-century fiction, Mr. Sadleir sought out what he noncommittally describes as "Londoniana" of the same period. This would appear to be the collection that I have heard an awed English bookdealer refer to as "the largest lot of social-evil literature in the country." Out of it have come Mr. Sadleir's most recent novels, those graphic revelations of the Victorian underworld as it actually was, *Fanny by Gaslight* and *Forlorn Sunset*. A confirmed bibliophile like Mr. Sadleir does not abandon collecting even after parting with the treasures assembled during a third of a lifetime. It is rumored that among the objects of his current search are the now neglected Edwardian novelists. The wise collector will profit by this hint.

This impressive record sufficiently demonstrates that Mr. Sadleir's prime motive for interesting himself in books has always been their intrinsic social or literary interest. But he has worked by choice in relatively uncharted areas, where he has had the pleasure of discovering for himself what is and what is not worth collecting. It follows that the present catalogue has a much greater claim on the attention of the literary student than do most productions of its class. If Mr. Sadleir's volumes omit almost entirely the ancillary manuscript material that gives the catalogue of the Ashley Library its particular appeal, they contain notice of many books and some authors undeservedly neglected even by the specialist in nineteenth-century English fiction. The reader is referred, for example, to

the headnotes concerning Lady Georgiana Chatterton, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, and Anne Manning, and to the brief comments that accompany the entries listing A. J. Barrowcliffe's *Normanton*, W. B. Hockley's *Pandurang Hari*, Mrs. Hunt's *Thornicroft's Model*, and J. E. Jenkins's *Ginx's Baby*. And in the concluding paragraphs of his introduction Mr. Sadleir suggests some of the themes that might profitably be traced through the fiction of the century and points out two subjects for study that he regards as particularly attractive: Mrs. Gore and the novelists of Ireland. We may hope that he will still find leisure to deal himself with these favorite topics; but if he does not, his eloquent praise will surely cause others to undertake them.

Mr. Sadleir's fellow collectors, interested in the books themselves rather than the use that can be made of them, will be most impressed by the standard of condition which he has maintained. His insistence on "really fine copies" in original binding has rarely wavered, and the result is a collection that with respect to condition could not now be duplicated even by a collector of Mr. Sadleir's stature. Remembering the revelation that these books were to me when I saw them on Mr. Sadleir's shelves, I am particularly glad to learn from Professor Bradford Booth that they may once again be seen in the library of the University of California at Los Angeles, where they have found a permanent home.* These 8,500 volumes (Professor Booth's count) provide a dazzling *coup d'oeil*. The gray or drab boards of the earlier part of the century, the multi-colored and multi-textured cloths of the later years, and the long runs of "yellow-backs" and fiction in series make a display which cannot be matched anywhere else in the world.

Mr. Sadleir's collection is a remarkable achievement, then, and this catalogue is an admirable monument to that achievement. To what extent are Mr. Sadleir's volumes also "a bibliographical record" of "nineteenth century fiction"? The answer to this question must be less satisfactory.

Mr. Sadleir's book is divided into three sections: I. An Author-Alphabet of First Editions (to which is appended a table of comparative scarcities for widely collected authors); II. Yellow-Back Collection; III. 'Novelists' Libraries,' 'Standard Novels,' 'The Parlour Library,' etc. Section I, which will be the most frequently used of these divisions, seems at

*For an account of the dedication of the collection at UCLA see *Antiquarian Bookman*, Nov. 22, 1952, pp. 1468-69. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., and David Randall were the speakers. *Editor*.

first glance to include 3,392 entries. But closer examination reveals that 900 numbers have inadvertently been omitted between 2,099 and 3,000, while, on the other hand, many numbers include sub-entries that record specially bound sets of first editions or textually significant later editions. If it is assumed that 2,600 separate titles are listed in Section I (a generous estimate), this is still only a small fraction of the first editions of fiction published in England during the nineteenth century.¹

Nor can it be said that Mr. Sadleir's catalogue covers the best fiction of the century. The *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* somewhat arbitrarily designates as "major novelists" twenty-three nineteenth-century writers. Of this group nine are omitted or very incompletely presented by Mr. Sadleir: Borrow, "Lewis Carroll," Dickens (all part issues excluded), Kipling, Moore, Scott, Stevenson, Thackeray, and Trollope. It has been noted that the minor novelists selected usually have features of particular interest to recommend them; but here the luck of the chase, as Mr. Sadleir freely admits, has often dictated the inclusion of one author and the omission of another. There are long runs of B. L. Farjeon and Hawley Smart, for example, but G. A. Lawrence and G. J. Whyte-Melville are left out.

Sections II and III provide more extensive coverage of their respective fields than does Section I, but they too hardly approach completeness. Section II does not begin to do for the Victorian "yellow-back" what the recent volumes of Albert Johannsen do for the nickel and dime novels of Beadle and Adams.² And though Section III forms a coherent history of the development of fictional series, one has only to compare it with Appendix B ("Collections, Libraries, Series, etc.") in the successive volumes of the *English Catalogue of Books* to see that it also is far from comprehensive.

The contribution that Mr. Sadleir's catalogue makes to nineteenth-century bibliography resides in its provision of fuller detail regarding

¹ There seems to be no accurate tally of the fictional production of the century, but certain rough estimates can be made. Andrew Block's *The English Novel 1740-1850* (London, 1939) lists some 8,000 titles of "prose romances, short stories, and translations of foreign fiction," about four-fifths of which belong to the first half of the nineteenth century. The fiction section of the nineteenth-century volume of the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, which is admittedly highly selective, lists perhaps 9,000 titles. The seven summary volumes that the *English Catalogue of Books* (London, 1864-1914) devotes to the nineteenth century can hardly contain less than 400,000 distinct titles, of which more than ten per cent must be fiction.

² Albert Johannsen. *The House of Beadle and Adams*. . . Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. 2 vols. Reviewed by John Tebbel in *PAPERS*, 44 (1950), 295-97. *Editor*.

certain authors and certain "difficult" books than was hitherto available. The authors for whom "Sadleir" is now standard include Ainsworth, Blackmore, Miss Braddon, Rhoda Broughton, Bulwer-Lytton, Carleton, Disraeli, Mrs. Gore, Henry Kingsley, Le Fanu, Marryat, Harriet Martineau, "Ouida," Mrs. Trollope, and Mrs. Henry Wood. The books which he has authoritatively analyzed include *The Ingoldsby Legends*, *Lady Audley's Secret*, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, *The House by the Churchyard*, and *The Heir of Redclyffe*. Such a service is by no means a small one, but it should be emphasized that a comprehensive record of nineteenth-century English fiction remains to be compiled.

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STEVENS, HENRY. *Recollections of James Lenox and the formation of his Library*. By Henry Stevens. Revised and Elucidated by Victor Hugo Paltsits, Litt.D. [Device] New York, The New York Public Library, 1951. xxxvi, 187 pp. Plates. 9 x 6 inches. \$10.00.

Readers of these PAPERS should not need to have rehearsed for them the nature or significance of Henry Stevens' recollections of Mr. Lenox. They are of interest whether read as the partial story of the creation of one of America's major collections or merely as delightful essays in the pleasures and trials of rare-book selling and buying. They also tend to be an autobiography of Stevens, as critics have pointed out, but surely that is no fault in a book which does not pretend to be a full-dress biography. The recollections have been widely read and enjoyed since their initial publication in 1886, but errors in detail and minor inaccuracies have been commented upon. Fifty years ago it was suggested that Wilberforce Eames revise the work, drawing on his experience as librarian of the Lenox collection. He never did so, but the task was taken up a few years ago by Victor Hugo Paltsits.

The qualifications of Dr. Paltsits should not have to be enlarged upon here, either. In addition to his long connection with The New York Public Library, into which the Lenox Library was incorporated, and his close acquaintance with Wilberforce Eames, he was able to draw upon a large and detailed collection of the correspondence and business papers of the dealer and the collector. From these and other sources and from his own extensive knowledge in the field of Americana, Dr. Paltsits has made some minor corrections in the text proper and has written a series of "elucida-

tions," expanding, correcting, bringing up to date, or documenting Stevens' remarks. These form virtually a new book in themselves, especially when taken in conjunction with the essay on Stevens which Dr. Paltsits wrote as an introduction. (It might be remarked that unfortunately this essay is not completely indexed in the Analytical Index [pp. 169-187]).

The book was printed by the publication office of the Library, and reflects ample credit on the designer, John Archer, whose last book it was before his retirement. There are more illustrations than in the original, the binding is simple and attractive, and the format is good, especially in view of the problem presented by a commentary longer than the text.

Comment upon this work is of necessity influenced by the recent death of Dr. Paltsits, and by the fact that the reviewer had read the comments of several others on the book before being asked to write his own. The critics have been very favorable, with the exception of the anonymous writer in the *Times Literary Supplement*. I must admit that I am inclined to agree with his cavil; before seeing his comments I had marked in my copy places where I thought the "elucidations" were repetitious, either of the text or of themselves. For example, "G.M.B." is explained twice; Joseph Story is identified twice; and in several cases passages from the text are quoted in the notes, which hardly seems necessary. There are even some instances of repetitive phrases, such as "Mr. Lenox's largest single mass purchase . . . ever made by him" (p. 108, n. 10).

The language of the notes tends to be tortuous, being full of abrupt transitions and non-English constructions (such as "succeeded . . . to bring"), with modifying clauses popping up in strange places. While the meaning is clear from the context, what is one to make of such a paradox as "only a majority" (p. 87, n. 7)? In many cases the placing of the note is not where one might expect it to be; specifically, in some instances individuals are identified not on the first but on subsequent references. Finally, the fact that such a careful scholar as Dr. Paltsits slips at least twice strengthens the reviewer's belief that one should never quote verbatim anything that he reproduces photographically. Almost any modern work which contains facsimiles of title pages or of pages of manuscript will yield small errors in transcription if carefully checked—in the present case, in the transcriptions of the title page of the "Wicked Bible" and of the caption title of the Narraganset Declaration.

It is useful to have the Stevens work in print, to have its errors and omissions corrected, and to have it well-indexed; but it is regrettable, perhaps, that so much scholarly labor and skillful typography were put into

a patchwork job, when Dr. Paltsits' great knowledge and careful research—and as it turned out, the short time remaining to him—might better have been devoted to an original work. We are told that he was working on a biography of James Lenox at the time of his death, and it is to be hoped that this was near enough completion to be published.

EDWIN H. CARPENTER, JR.

The Huntington Library

Fifteenth Century Books and the Twentieth Century: An Address by Curt F. Bühler, and a Catalogue of an Exhibition of Fifteenth Century Books held at The Grolier Club, April 15-June 1, 1952. New York, The Grolier Club, 1952. Plates. 59 pp. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. \$3.00.

All organisers of exhibitions know the solemn air with which those present cluster round the cases, rather like goldfish who find themselves on the wrong side of the glass. I hope I do no injustice either to the members of the Grolier Club if I assume that in this respect they differ little from the rest of mankind, or to Dr. Bühler if I assume that he thought it proper to relieve the atmosphere with the fresh air of a somewhat startling thesis. "After all," he says in effect, "they're only books"; and books, he justly observes, are meant to be read. The proud possessor of Proctor 325-6 or Proctor 1639 may well seek an escape from the inevitable conclusion.

Dr. Bühler's theme is that students of incunabula must now approach their books less as bibliographical specimens than as pieces of reading-matter related to their contemporary historical and intellectual background; and since the solution of typographical problems is rapidly approaching completion his opinion is undoubtedly right and his statement of it timely. Indeed signs are not wanting that studies are already developing in the direction whither Dr. Bühler would have them go, as is witnessed by the general index of M. Polain's catalogue of incunables in Belgium, Dr. Scholderer's British Academy lecture on "Printers and Readers in Italy in the Fifteenth Century," and (for a wider period) Mr. H. S. Bennett's *English Books & Readers 1475 to 1557*. Dr. Bühler too is similarly engaged, for in this address he briefly discloses the results of an analysis he has made (by date of author, and by subject-matter, nationality, and language) of the books so far listed in the *Gesamtkatalog*. His findings are, as he rightly claims, astonishing. It is good to know that he intends to publish them in detail elsewhere; but he is certainly entitled here and now to an interim salute for having addressed himself so pertinaciously to so daunting a task.

Meanwhile what of the private collector? Dr. Bühler cites with approval two eminent collectors of incunabula-as-texts, and implies that such as these alone are of the true twentieth-century faith. Incunabula are indeed certainly books (though not all books, in any age, are necessarily readable), but they are also in varying degrees ancient monuments, and therefore deserving of protection from the deleterious effects of even the most temperate reading. I can think of no justification for reading a text in a fifteenth-century edition on those many occasions when a reprint will serve equally well. And if a man takes his pleasures among the well-worn paths of Bradshaw and Proctor he is certainly entitled to do so, for the first duty of a collector is to himself—to derive pleasure from his books, even a pleasure that may seem to others irrational or frivolous or outmoded. Indeed this conflict of pure and applied bibliophily is not unknown to Dr. Bühler himself, for the unopened leaves of his *Oratio ad laudem S. Leopoldi* weigh heavily on his conscience. They need not do so, for should he disturb this bibliographical coelacanth the magic will certainly fly out of it.

An English reviewer, totally ignorant of the climate of American book-collecting, is scarcely competent to express an opinion on some of Dr. Bühler's other points, though he may hazard the conclusion that the run-of-the-mill incunable, suitable for pursuit by the middle-income brackets, does not circulate as freely in the American market as it does in the English. Dr. Bühler's criticism of the ABAA—that it does not cater for the scholar-collector—certainly cannot be levelled against the ABA; nor would he find it necessary to urge before an English audience the sensible view that imperfect incunables are not necessarily to be despised by collectors, private or institutional—a view that was once cogently expressed in a *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* by that wise though, I fear, Bradshavian collector, Sir Stephen Gaselee.

To English ears the name "Grolier Club" connotes high standards of scholarship allied to a certain discriminating opulence—qualities that are fully realised in this beautifully designed catalogue of superbly fine and important books. To review such an exhibition by long-distance is impossible. I envy the members of the Club the good fortune of their opportunity, and confess that, had I been privileged to be present, none would have been before me in assuming the mien of the goldfish. Further to congratulate the Club (and those members of it who contributed to what must have been a memorable occasion) would be at once superfluous and impertinent.

J. C. T. OATES

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GALLATIN, A. E., and L. M. OLIVER. *A Bibliography of the Works of Max Beerbohm*. London, Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952 (The Soho Bibliographies, III); Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1952. x, [2], 60 pp. 10¾ x 7 inches. 30s.; \$5.00.

In one of the tributes to Sir Max Beerbohm on his eightieth birthday which were broadcast over the BBC on 24 August 1952, Michael Sadleir said that the incomparable Max confounded the "disregarded specialists called bibliographers" when he took his leave of authorship in 1896 (at the age of 24) and his publisher John Lane ingeniously compiled a *Bibliography of the Works of Max Beerbohm*. "This contained [Mr. Sadleir said], in the way of true bibliographical material (that is to say, *book* as opposed to *magazine* material), one problematical pamphlet and the actual little volume in which the bibliography appeared. The bibliographers of the day thought this peculiar, but they had perforce to accept it. Max had retired, and his complete output had been registered. True, new books bearing his name appeared from time to time; but they were manifestly spurious, because . . . Max had retired. Simple enough; until in 1944 appeared a personable volume of *Bibliographical Notes* by an American enthusiast, which volume, extensively revised, is appearing over the imprint of Mr. Rupert Hart-Davis virtually at this moment. Now, indeed, and with alarming certainty, we realise that we have been tricked; that, my dear Max, your design for living has always begun at the end. In short, and in effect, the more you do not write, the more voluminous is your written work."

The present book under review, by A. E. Gallatin, the "American enthusiast," and L. M. Oliver, appeared in three numbers of the *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Vol. V, Nos. 1-3 (Winter-Autumn 1951), and is now reprinted from the *Bulletin* types with a few revisions and additions. It gives full bibliographical data for Sir Max's collected and separately printed works: thirty-seven in all, but with briefer descriptions of subsidiary editions actually 139 items, plus an appendix of MSS., typescripts, letters, caricatures, and association pieces given to Harvard by Mr. Gallatin. However, the author's previous work on England's most famous parodist and caricaturist is not to be discarded, for it also included uncollected and unpublished writings, catalogues of exhibitions, data on plays, introductions, and selected works about Beerbohm. Only the first thirty pages of the 1944 *Bibliographical Notes* have been here made into No. III of the new Soho Bibliographies, of which any publisher should be proud.

A. E. Housman may have believed that "finding faults is the most use-

ful sort of criticism"; but this Max Beerbohm bibliography is so well done within its own limits that one hesitates to suggest that it might have been improved by including the contents of each volume (as was done in 1944), the number of copies printed, the original price, and the spine lettering.

Such remarks as that in *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature* that M.B. is "among the exquisite writers, and his delicacy of perception [is] matched with delicacy of utterance" give more assurance of his enduring place in literary history. Continuing commercial success is evidenced by *Zuleika Dobson's* being issued by Penguin Books on the day Sir Max reached 80. A "profile" in *The Observer* the same day, a front-page tribute, "The Genius of Irresponsibility," in *The Times Literary Supplement*, and the BBC broadcast—all show the esteem in which he is held.

"Beccerius | a Latin fragment | with explanatory notes by M. B." might well have been listed in the 1896 bibliography with tongue in cheek, for the present compilers know of no copies.¹ He will longer be remembered for another aspect of humor, the best example of which was shown in his latest exhibition, "'Max' in Retrospect" at the Leicester Galleries in May: "Mr. Henry James Revisits America: Extract from his Unspoken Thoughts": . . . "So that in fine, let, without further beating about the bush, me make to myself amazed acknowledgement that, but for the certificate of birth which I have—so quite indubitably—on me, I might, in regarding (and, as it somewhat were, overseeing) *à l'oeil de voyageur* these dear good people, find hard to swallow, or even to take by subconscious injection, the great idea that I am—oh ever so indigenously!—one of them." . . .

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Gutenberg-Jahrbuch 1952. Begründet und herausgegeben von Aloys Rupel. Mainz, Verlag der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, [1952]. 237 pp. XXIII plates. 10½ x 8¼ inches.

The new issue of the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* retains its broad scope and international character. Its forty-four articles are written in five languages

¹ "The other bibliophilic curiosity in Sir Max's bibliography is . . . a *jeu d'esprit* in Latin elegiacs, richly annotated, 'by H. M. B.', describing a recital given by Mr. Becker, the music master at Charterhouse. Messrs. Gallatin and Oliver omit this altogether, and in their preface hint broadly that it never existed. *Carmen Becceriense*, which is a four-page octavo without date or imprint, must, undoubtedly, be very rare; but there is a copy in the library at Charterhouse." *Times Lit. Suppl.*, Sept. 26, 1952, p. 636. It is reproduced in *The Book Collector*, Vol. I, No. 4, with a note by the Librarian of Charterhouse. *Editor*.

by authors of eight nationalities, and their topics range geographically from papermaking in thirteenth-century Egypt to the beginnings of printing in China. It is a regrettable sign of the times that of twenty German contributors only one comes from the Eastern zone of Germany, and that among the advertisers the great printing centre of Leipzig is entirely unrepresented.

The section entitled "Die Frühdruckzeit" is principally concerned with printing in Spain. Sebastián Dueños Blasco contributes a general outline of Spanish printing. Dr. L. Cuesta Gutiérrez describes the succession of foreign printers at Burgos, from Friedrich Biel of Basel to the Italian Giovanni Battista Varesio. Dr. Curt Bühler describes the Catalan *Fiore di virtù* printed at Gerona by Juan de Valdés in 1497, and reestablishes the belief that Diego de Gumiel did actually print at Gerona. L. A. Sheppard writes of a hitherto unidentified Zaragoza incunable. Dr. Hugo Alker states the result of his examination of seven of the ten known copies of the 1457 Psalter, showing that the Vienna copy, alone, contains the device of Fust and Schöffer: the Psalter is thus the first printed book to contain a device. Victor Scholderer examines the texts printed by Jacques Le Rouge and points out that of his thirty-one fully authenticated productions no less than ten, and probably eleven, are *editiones principes*. Dr. Kurt Ohly examines and rejects Franz Maschek's theory that the "Printer of the 1482 Vocabolista," the first printer at Vienna, was Johann Petri, and supports the traditional identification of this printer as Stephan Koblinger. A. W. Kazmeier examines Gutenberg's paper supplies in the light of the watermarks appearing in the 42-line Bible.

Dr. Martin von Hase begins a series of articles on the minor printers who successively operated the press founded at Erfurt in 1523 by Johannes Loersfelt. His first article, on Conrad Treffer (1528-30), lists nine titles and enumerates the title-page borders and cuts which were used. Walter Baumann gives a historical account of investigations into the identity of the first printer at Halberstadt, concluding that Lorenz Stuchs was the printer and Ludwig Trutebel financed the enterprise; a list of twenty products of that press is appended. Dr. Benzing gives an account of Balthasar Lipp, the first printer at Höchst am Main, and lists three books printed by him. D. T. Pottinger describes the controls which were imposed on French printers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to maintain quality both of text and of book production, and Dr. Herbert Koch describes the censorship of books in sixteenth-century Jena. F. C. Avis assesses the international influence of William Caslon, and rates it high.

In the short section devoted to the twentieth century, Prof. C. H. Kleukens describes the brief history of the "Steglitzer Werkstatt." Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf restates the considerations which led Victor Hammer to design his American Uncial. "Readability," he says, "is a fiction, because we are able to recognize the prototype even in its most atrocious distortions." One might reply that the best type is that which puts the least possible mechanical barrier in the way of the reader's comprehension of the author's ideas; and that any such barrier is bad, even though it be surmountable. Dr. Julius Rodenberg writes on William Edwin Rudge. Harold E. Waite describes the ingenious type-pictures of Albert Schiller.

Several articles are devoted to early bookbinding. Dr. Ferdinand Geldner shows that four copies of the 36-line Bible were bound at Bamberg. Dr. Ernst Kyriß enumerates fifty-eight books bound by the Augsburg printer Ambrosius Keller. Dr. Kurt Holter lists 105 stamps assigned to the monastic bindery of Kremsmünster, which are admirably reproduced in the section of plates. Dr. Ilse Schunke writes on "Der Pariser Marx-Fugger-Meister."

In the field of illustration, Dr. Hermann Knaus examines the attribution to Conrad Faber von Creuznach of the cuts of the Ebernburg which Schoeffer employed to illustrate both his 1523 *Livy* and Caspar Sturm's *Wahrliche Bericht*. Dr. Hedwig Gollob describes a set of Strasburg initials which served as model for one of Holbein's *Totentanz* alphabets. Prof. Pierre Marot sets out the contract between Antoine God and Pierre Woeiriot, as a result of which God published his *Icones XXXVI ad sacrae historiae fidem compositae*. Countess Maria Lanckorońska examines the symbolism of the "Petrarcameister," and seeks to identify him as Hans Brosamer the Elder.

Dr. Wieland Schmidt, the Director of the Berlin University Library, formulates a new definition of the word "book" (as opposed to other documentary objects such as manuscripts, inscriptions, vases, and coins) as a basis for a definition of the function of a library (as opposed to an archive repository or a museum): a book, he says, is essentially portable, manifold, and of universal intellectual interest. Dr. Karl Preisendanz, formerly Director of the Heidelberg University Library, publishes documents concerning two early requests for loans of Bible MSS. from the library of Johann Reuchlin.

The annual report, which shows that the Gesellschaft has had a very active and prosperous year, concludes a volume whose layout, typography, and illustration are all admirable.

DEREK A. CLARKE

The British Museum

Festschrift Eugen Stollreither zum 75. Geburtstage gewidmet von Fachgenossen, Schuelern, Freunden. Herausgegeben von Fritz Redenbacher. Mit 34 Tafeln. Erlangen, Universitaetsbibliothek, 1950. xii, 403 pp. 32 plates. 10 x 7 inches. 44 DM.

The departures in this well-made and readable book are many, but none appear to be irrelevant. The authors are preponderantly Germans from south of the "Main-Linie," which accounts perhaps for its unusually intimate and warm appeal, characteristics which do not impair the thoroughly scholarly nature of the volume. From the friendly introduction of the competent editor, who is also the successor in office of the honoured recipient, to Richard Schmidtbauer's personal letter addressed to the "unglaublich jugendliche Jubilar" (p. 255) or to Ferdinand Weckerle's colloquium about Erasmus's *Carmen Campestre* (pp. 367-381), this humane intimacy assumes various degrees.

Most of the 35 contributions deal with historical themes, which may roughly be grouped as follows: eight about Books; four about Printing; four about Binding; three about Book Illustration; three about Libraries. Then there is a group of eight papers, concerned with various aspects of the History of Civilization, including Art and Historiography. Only five papers treat of aspects of practical librarianship.

Scholars who write on various phases of the History of the Book include the following. Alban Dold, the well-known palimpsest expert from Beuron, describes a liturgical volume quite new to him, from the eleventh/twelfth century, now located at Stuttgart. Ferdinand Geldner produces some evidence of the high contemporary prices of incunabula. August Jegel discusses the relatively mild censorship exercised by the City Council of Nuremberg, particularly in the sixteenth century. Alfred Klotz handles a palaeographical problem involving the variation of a final *m* with grammatical implications. Hans Liermann presents an interesting study of the introduction of books into court practice, which assumed telling proportions only after printing had been invented. Julius Pirson, who compiled the Romance portion of the manuscript catalogue of the University Library of Erlangen, begun by Dr. Stollreither in 1928, discusses four French and Italian manuscripts included in the collection catalogued, which relate to *Franken* or the University Library itself. Paul Ruf adds the description of another Renaissance library to those of Nicolas of Cusa and of Hermann and Hartmann Schedel, introduced by Alois Boemer in the *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*; he sets down the known data of the life of its owner, Bernhard von Kraiburg, and finally describes the li-

brary in detail, listing a hundred or so extant books. None of these are in German; all bear the owners' initials, crest or device stamped on the cover or engraved on the clasps; the stamped initials are probably the earliest known *Ex Libris* (before 1467). Wieland Schmidt makes a specific contribution to the "*Aufarbeitung des Stofflichen*" (p. 266) still needed for a better understanding of the transitional fifteenth century of German literature; he lists 21 manuscripts and 9 printed editions (one an incunabulum) of a typical tract of the popular edifying variety.

Four essays on phases of the History of Printing follow. Walter Menn summarizes the points still not settled in the dispute about the books printed in the Catholicon type face and about the 36-line Bible: (1) the so-called gap in the output of the Fust-Schoeffer office from October 1459 to August 1462; (2) Schoeffer's alleged List of printed works; (3) the provenance of the manuscript salvage pieces used in the bindings of the early Mainz prints; (4) the place of printing of B36. Aloys Ruppel tells about a plan for a Gutenberg monument, presented to the Society of Arts and Sciences in Mainz, which may have been intended as a center piece for the Gutenberg Place proposed by and executed upon the orders of Napoleon in 1804; in 1837 the Thorwaldsen statue assumed this location. Helmut H. Schmid's comparative study of a manuscript calendar of 1430 and Johann Blaubirer's calendar of 1483, investigated by him in his Erlangen dissertation of 1949, raises the question whether the author's assumption of "progress" in the incunabulum does not permit of an interpretation similar to that discussed in Redenbach's article on illustrations in the early Middle Ages, reported on later in this review. Georg Wirth furnishes a short extract from his unprinted Erlangen dissertation of 1949 about the printing press maintained by the Archbishop of Bamberg, the first known "government press" in the West. Bamberg's censorship, unlike that experienced in Nuremberg, was so complete, even up to 1803, that the founding of a university in 1648 or that of a newspaper in 1754 could not produce any appreciable changes in the intellectual vacuum maintained by the Catholic prince.

Erlangen has been known for some time as a center devoted to the study of the book arts, including binding. It is not surprising then to find here a number of excellent contributions to this interesting subject. The city archivist, Johannes Bischoff, traces the history of the binding trade in the community now known as Erlangen. The bookbinders, like other crafts related to the book, were subject to the university authorities, even

in Erlangen, whose university was not established until 1743. Its binders are today among the leading industrial firms of Bavaria. Ernst Kyriss, also a product of the Erlangen school, is represented with a detailed study of the 100 mostly theological volumes in the University Library, originating in the private library of Georg Siegel (1552-1598), professor at the University of Altdorf, which merged into the University of Erlangen. Richard Schmidbauer's "Nachlese," already mentioned, contains a succinct description of an hitherto unknown Maioli volume now in the Augsburg City Library. Eleonore Schmidt-Herrling describes the intricate history of the volumes, with full-leather and half-leather bindings, done by the Wittenberg binder Thomas Krueger for Wenzeslaus Gurckfelder (1549?-1608), a school and government official in the services of the Margrave of Ansbach.

Erwin Kistner, a secondhand book dealer in Nuremberg, has come forth with an original explanation of the method by which the short-lived sealprints (=Teigdrucke) were created. He was fortunate in finding a manuscript in the Library of the Germanisches Museum, which had more examples than any other volume known so far. He classifies his finds according to the system used by Thomas Ollive Mabbott for a ninth volume of W. L. Schreiber's *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte* planned by him. He suggests that the existing opinion that the sealprint art lacked a great master has been proven wrong by the existence of a leaf produced by the Master d (Schreiber 2803), whose work has recently been studied by Carl Wehmer. Eberhard Lutze traces the life-history of the original owner of a collection of colorful representations of the famous Augsburg folk-festival of 1509 and writes extensive interpretations of these; five of them are reproduced on accompanying plates. Fritz Redenbacher, besides editing the *Festschrift*, also contributes a fine study on the fate of the illustrations in early medieval manuscripts in the judgment of successive generations: the shift from the contempt of the eighteenth-century rationalists for the "unrealistic" art of the Renaissance, to a fleeting recognition of intrinsic value by the romantic writers, especially Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder (1797: *Herzensergiessungen*), to a reversal into renewed misunderstanding, even on the part of Goethe; then a slow return to a more objective attitude by art critics such as Jacob Burckhardt, Franz Kugler, and Gustav Friedrich Waagen (who found that the evolution of painting from the fourth to the fifteenth century can be traced only in book-miniatures), to Albert Boeckler, who says of the art of the

early Middle Ages "that it is the expression of a very refined intellectual attitude. . . ."

Eight of the contributions, though of intrinsic value, are quite remote from the immediate concern of the guardians of books and libraries. Franz Babinger writes on the special ambassadorship of Melchior Besold in 1584, to present the annual "honor-gift" to the Great Lord at Stambul; Ernst Mehl on Karl Gustav Hocheisen's contribution to Ludwig Bauer's *Weltgeschichte*, a chapter in nineteenth-century German historiography; Karl Schottenloher traces the evolution and duration as well as the meaning of the term "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation"; Irmgard Schreibmueller presents an able account of Michelangelo's contribution to the plans for St. Peter's Church in Rome; Guenther Schuhmann of Johannes Kupezky's (1667-1740) painting of Christiane Charlotte, margravine of Brandenburg-Ansbach; and E. G. Troche furnishes another example of rediscovery of early art covered by later inferior work in describing the restoration of the Koeler-Altar of St. Peter's chapel in Nuremberg. Ferdinand Weckerle's poetic elaboration of Erasmus's *Carmen Campestre* will be welcome to all admirers of the *Encomium Moriae*; while Hermann Zeltner's account of Schelling's 20 years' "interlude" at Erlangen should be meaningful to students of the philosophy of religion.

The three studies on the History of Libraries are largely biographical. Friedrich Kraft draws a vivid picture of Achille Ratti, librarian of the Ambrosiana in Milan (1888-1914), then of the Vatican (1914-1918), later Cardinal and Papal Nuncius and finally Pope (Pius XI). Georg Leyh describes the circumstances leading to August Wilmanns' appointment as head of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek in 1885 and about the essentials of his work, and discusses the sources for a definite biography of Wilmanns and the unfortunate failure of Emil Jacobs, his close associate for seven years, to write the contemplated biography. Henri F. Raux, one of the four contributors from areas outside South Germany, describes with Gallic *élan* the essential nature of Eugène Morel's work in giving decisive impulses to French public library work.

Two of the five studies on phases of library administration deal with the alphabetical subject catalogue (*Schlagwortkatalog*). Friedrich Bock brings illustrations of forerunners of the American dictionary catalogue in medieval manuscript catalogues. Agnes Staehlin discusses the modern practice of making subject catalogues, especially in the German-Austrian orbit. She points out that the state libraries in Munich and Vienna repre-

sent opposite extremes: Vienna carries out a mildly systematic grouping, whereas Munich has strictly narrow subject entries with many cross-references.

Gustav Hofmann and Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld are concerned with personnel problems. Hofmann, the present head of the State Libraries in Munich, presents a statistical study of the distribution of professional and clerical workers in the more important public scholarly libraries of West Germany, and comes to the conclusion that in the Bavarian State Libraries, but more especially in the State Library at Munich itself, the numerical relationship between these two groups of employees is ridiculously lopsided. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, professor of law and a son of a former head of the Bavarian State Library, draws "an abstraction from the life of my father." It is quite instructive to compare his characterization with Leyh's description of Wilmanns and to discover the essential agreement of ideals as seen both from within and without, so to speak.

The final study is written by one of the young and able library administrators in this country. Lawrence S. Thompson, recently returned from a successful advisory assignment in Turkey, skilfully chooses the University Library Survey as his subject, to give his European colleagues an insight into contemporary North American methodology applied in tackling the management of complex library problems. He briefly outlines the history of the Survey from the first one made by Wilson-Branscomb-Dunbar in 1939, of Georgia, to the latest examples, before discussing its implications for library staff, university administration and controlling agencies. He may point to a crucial difference in situations, when he speaks of the "university administration (a much stronger element in academic life in America than it is in Europe)," which ultimately might determine to what extent such a tool as the Survey can be applied to advantage in Europe.

The celebrated scholar and librarian in Erlangen may well rejoice over this remarkable assembly of fellow-devotees to the book and over the gifts they have presented him in this noble volume. Though he had to wait more than ten years for this token, planned for 1939 (p. 29, footnote), he did not wait in vain.

ICKO IBEN

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PARK, HENRIK, and CARL THOMSEN. *Bogbinderen August Sandgren*. Copenhagen, Forening for Boghåndvaerk, 1952. 114 pp. Plates. 9¾ x 6 inches.

When August Sandgren died in 1934 at the age of forty-one, the art of bookbinding lost one of its most skilled practitioners in the twentieth century. However, his personality and his work have an enduring place in the hearts of his fellow Danes, a fact abundantly revealed in this little collection of appreciative essays sent out by the Forening for Boghåndvaerk as its 1951 gift book to members. Perhaps the most important essay is the first one, by Gustav Strand, giving biographical details and an analysis of the nature of Sandgren's art. That Sandgren was convinced that libraries should have attractive as well as sturdy bindings is brought out in the essays of Carl Roos on "Sandgren and the Royal Library" and by G. Krogh Jensen on "Sandgren and the Book in Working Clothes." Sandgren's bindings for the Frederiksberg Public Libraries (Figure 2) show that even public libraries could receive personalized service in a country and an age when labor costs had not shot up into the wild blue yonder.

Hendrik Park, young master binder of Copenhagen who is perhaps the leading exponent of Sandgren's conception of craftsmanship in Denmark today, has analyzed the basic elements in Sandgren's technical skill in meticulous detail, although he met the master but once, and then only as a lad. Erik Zahle's essay describes Sandgren's effective participation in the movement to rejuvenate the Forening for Boghåndvaerk. The last essay, by Oswald Janner, is an appreciation of Sandgren as a co-worker. There are nineteen full-page illustrations of Sandgren's bindings and a bibliography of articles about him.

Like all other publications sent out by the Forening for Boghåndvaerk, the book is a superior example of design (by Viggo Naae) and craftsmanship (printed by Bianco Luno, illustrations by Fr. Hendriksens Reproduktionsanstalt), a piece of work of which the master himself would have been proud.

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